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BENGAL DISTRICT GAZETTEERS.

ANGUL.

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BENGAL DISTRICT GAZETTEERS.

ANGUL.

BY

L. S. S. O'MALLEY,

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

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PREFACE.

I HAVE much pleasure in acknowledging the valuable assistance rendered by Mr. E. McLeod Smith, Deputy Commissioner of Angul, and by Mr. A. J. Ollenbach, Subdivisional Officer of the Khondmāls, in the preparation of this volume.

L. S. S. O'M.

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GAZETTEER

OF THE

ANGUL DISTRICT.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL ASPECTS.

THE district of Angul is situated between 20° 13′ and 21° 11′ north latitude and between 83° 47′ and 85° 16′ east longitude. It extends over an area of 1,681 square miles, and contains a population, according to the census of 1901, of 191,911 persons. The headquarters of the district is Angul, a village situated on the Nigrā river, in 20° 48′ N. and 84° 59′ E., at a distance of 64 miles from Cuttack. GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

The district is made up of two distinct tracts, each of which is a separate subdivision, viz., the Angul subdivision or Angul proper, which has an area of 881 square miles and is situated between 20° 33′ and 21° 11′ N. and between 84° 10′ and 85° 16′ E., and the Khondmāls extending over 800 square miles and lying between 20° 13′ and 20° 41′ N. and between 83° 47′ and 84° 31′ E. These two subdivisions are entirely detached, being separated by the Baud State, and their headquarters are 87 miles apart.

The name Angul is said to be a corruption of Anugol, and is explained by the following legend. Formerly, it is said, the country was occupied by aboriginal tribes, such as the Khonds, Savars and Gonds, the dominant race being the Khonds. It was divided into a number of independent principalities, each governed by a Khond *sardār* or chief; but at last the king of Orissa succeeded in establishing his rule over the Khonds, who acknowledged his suzerainty by paying him tribute. The last Khond *sardār* was a chieftain named Anu, who withheld the Origin of name.

I am indebted to Mr. A. O. Johnstone, Superintendent of Police, Angul, and to Mr. A. J. Ollenbach, Subdivisional Officer of the Khondmāls, for assistance in preparing this Chapter.

tribute and broke out in rebellion. The king of Orissa thereupon sent an embassy to his court with some Rājput adventurers from Mathurā; and they, finding that the people of the country chafed under his rule, enlisted their help. A conspiracy was formed against Anu, and in the struggle which ensued he was deposed by means of a *gol*, *i.e.*, a battle or plot. They then ruled over the land, and in commemoration of their conquest called it Anugol.

Boundaries. The Angul subdivision is surrounded on all sides by Tributary States, being bounded on the north by Rairākhol and Bāmra; on the east by Tālcher, Dhenkānāl and Hindol; on the south by Daspallā and Narsinghpur; on the south-west by Daspallā and Baud, from which it is separated by the Mahānadī river; and on the west by Athmallik. The tract known as the Khondmāls lies to the south-west of the Angul subdivision, and forms an enclave of the Baud Tributary State, a belt of which intervenes between it and Angul. The Baud State bounds it on the north, east and west; and on the south the boundary marches with the Ganjām district of the Madras Presidency.

Configuration. The Angul subdivision, which roughly resembles a triangle in shape, is a hilly tract, the average elevation of which is about 1,000 feet above sea-level. The surface is broken up by hill, rock and jungle, and there are few level stretches of any great extent, except in the east-central portion of the subdivision, where the country is for several miles comparatively flat, open and well cultivated. *Pargana* Uparbis to the extreme north, is similar in character, but contains much more low jungle, and a series of low hills runs through it from south-west to north-east. With these exceptions, the subdivision is a land of hills, valleys and ravines; and the country is cut up in all directions by streams and water-courses, which dry up during the hot weather and come down in spate during the rains. To the south is a mass of hills, thickly clad with forest and very sparsely populated, the greater portion of which has been constituted reserved forest.

The Khondmāls subdivision forms a broken plateau about 1,700 feet above sea-level, girdled almost continuously by high ranges, which cut it off from the surrounding country. On the north, east and west these ranges rise abruptly from the plains of Baud, a marked difference in elevation being noticeable almost as soon as the boundary is crossed; but on the south they merge in the outliers of the Eastern Ghāts in the Ganjām district. The high plateau lying within these ranges is broken up by numerous smaller ranges, which form an endless series of valleys varying in size from one to ten square miles. Primeval

Forest still covers much of this tract, and the villages lie in scattered clearings on the hill sides and in the valleys below, while some are in almost inaccessible places on the topmost summits of the hills. The whole subdivision is, in fact, a network of hills and forests, interspersed here and there with the small hamlets of the Khonds.

The western portion of the subdivision, and also its north-eastern corner, forms a compact block of rugged hills, range after range being visible for miles around. The valleys shut in by these hills are small; but some of them form tablelands at fairly high elevations. A lofty unbroken range runs down the eastern boundary; but on the south the ranges are not so close together, the valleys are more open, and the general level is higher than in other parts. There is a stretch of fairly open country to the north before the boundary line is reached, and again at the south-eastern corner more open land is found. The subdivision may thus be said to comprise two distinct parts—one, a mass of dense hills occupying the whole of the west and south and a great portion of the interior, and the other, which is much the smaller portion, containing more open valleys and smaller and more broken ranges.

Taken as a whole, however, the subdivision is a wild hilly tract intersected in all directions by streams and torrents, which run dry after the cessation of the rains. The area of cultivated land is small. The uplands and the slopes leading down from the foot of the hills are periodically cleared for raising dry crops, and the low paddy lands have been permanently cleared and are cultivated every year. The rest of the country is covered with thick forest.

Few districts in Bengal surpass Angul in picturesque scenery. Scenery. The rugged peaks and ridges, the dense forests with a waving sea of dark green foliage, the valleys at some places closely hemmed into picturesque gorges by peaks on either side, at others presenting less abrupt slopes, on which the cultivators laboriously make their terraced fields, the deep uplands, the patches of cultivation seen here and there on the tops and sides of the hills, all combine to form a splendid panorama. From a hill top the villages and hamlets may be descried at the far end of a valley or high up at the foot of the hills, embowered in foliage, which is easily distinguishable from the forest growth on all sides. They are usually surrounded by small orchards and groves of mango, jack and *mahua*, above which tower stately sago and date palms with feathery crowns. Each hamlet has its sacred grove, which, in the more thickly populated areas, stands out prominently from among

the cultivated fields. In the wilder parts, they are distinguished by a heavier growth, as the people never cut down any of the trees, some of which grow to a gigantic size. All around is dense forest, abounding in different varieties of resinous and flowering trees, emitting a sweet scent and covered with blossoms, with an undergrowth of bulbous plants, smaller varieties of palm, huge creepers, bamboo clumps, and ferns in shady places. The hill streams too present a series of scenes often beautiful and occasionally grand, as they wind in and out among the hills, which now overhang their rock-strewn beds, and again form small valleys, down which the stream hurries between banks fringed by reed thickets. In the rains, these torrents are an imposing sight, as they rush down in spate, lashed into foam against their rocky banks, overturning great boulders, and sweeping down large trees bodily.

HILL SYSTEM. The hills of the Angul subdivision are a continuation of a chain of mountains, which rise abruptly from the lower levels of the States of Narsinghpur and Daspallā on the south and from the bed of the Mahānadī at its south-western corner. From this tangled mass of mountains there shoots out a more distinct chain of high hills, which form an almost impassable barrier between Angul and the State of Athmallik. The general trend of the hills is from south-west to north-east; and they form a watershed between the Mahānadī and the Brāhmanī river, which flows a few miles to the north of the boundary between Angul and Tālcher. The majority of the hills are of no very great height, but in the extreme south and west some of them attain an altitude of over 2,000 feet. The hill ranges have no specific names, but there are several peaks bearing well-known names. The most important of these are Khalā-āmba (2,578 feet) to the north-west of Mānikjori in *pargana* Tikarparā; Esaradā (2,142 feet) south-west of Pampāsar in the same *pargana*; Sumitrā (2,072 feet) south-west of Talgarh in *pargana* Tarās; Sārisuā (2,010 feet) on the borders of Athmallik in *pargana* Uparbis; Kalāpāt (2,000 feet) to the west of Purunāgarh; Tangāri (1,912 feet) south-west of Jerang in *pargana* Tindesh; Jharan (1,320 feet) south of Kanloi, on the borders of Rairākhol, in *pargana* Uparbis; Salāmi (1,272 feet) east of Tikarparā in the *pargana* of the same name; Mandārgiri (1,160 feet) near Tumuni in *pargana* Purunāgarh; Kukurāghāti (1,000 feet) between Jagannāthpur and Mānikjori, in *pargana* Tikarparā; and Sorisapālghāti (540 feet) north of Purunāgarh in the *pargana* of the same name.

The hills in the Khondmāls are a continuation of the hills of the Ganjām district, which have their highest point about 20 miles south of the subdivision and run down in broken ranges,

gradually decreasing in height, up to the northern limits of the subdivision, where the open plains of Baud begin. Their general direction is from south to north, but there are numerous short ranges of varying length and height running in all directions. The tops of these ranges are flat; there are few isolated hills detached from the main ranges; and they nowhere present sharp jagged edges and conical peaks, with the exception of one peak, Siānangā, at the extreme south-eastern end of the subdivision. Among other lofty peaks rising above the general level are Dandikiā with a height of 3,308 feet, this being the loftiest peak in the Khondmāls, Bumuni (3,144 feet), Mandesar (3,081 feet), Damsingā (2,886 feet) and Sanāi (2,403 feet); on the south the highest peaks are Piriāsaru (3,083 feet), Dāndā (2,795 feet) and Penchar (2,957 feet); on the west Pakādi (2,363 feet), Pāladi (2,912 feet), Petingiā (2,325 feet) and Parāni (2,414 feet); and on the north and east Jeruj (2,844 feet), Tangāri (2,690 feet), Pakdoi (2,619 feet), Bodā (2,754 feet), Lopākumpā (2,708 feet) and Ranpātali (2,566 feet). Most of these peaks have been named after the ranges to which they belong, but some peculiarity they present is often made the basis for their nomenclature, *e.g.*, the Piriāsaru hill derives its name from an old mango tree, which stands out prominently above the rest of the foliage.

The hills in the Angul subdivision tower on the north of the Mahānadī into a lofty watershed sloping down on the other side into the valley of the Brāhmanī; and all the rivers of the subdivision find their way into one or other of these great rivers. The Mahānadī rises in the Central Provinces and forms the boundary between Angul on the north and the Baud State on the south. On its left bank it receives the drainage of South Angul, the principal tributary being the Barajorā, and on its right bank the Tel, Mārini and Jormu in Baud, and the Bāghnadī, Sālkī and Hirāmānandā, which drain the Khondmāls. Some 40 miles further north and parallel to the Mahānadī flows the Brāhmanī, which passes just outside the northern boundary of Angul and receives most of its drainage by the Tikrā, Nandīr and Nigrā tributaries. RIVER SYSTEM.

With the exception of the Mahānadī, the rivers of Angul are mountain streams, which are torrents in the rains but in the hot weather contain little or no water. Their banks are for the most part high, their beds are rocky, and they are all useless for purposes of navigation. These streams are not much used for irrigation, but a project has recently been sanctioned for the construction of minor canal works, which will consist in damming up the Baulī and carrying its water by means of channels and

distributaries to a considerable area. Two other irrigation projects in connection with the Bhālukhāi and Poipāni streams have also been proposed. It is reported that other irrigation works are also feasible, one of the most important of which would be to dam up several of the streams near their source, where the hills and deep valleys would allow of the formation of mountain lakes, and so prevent the water from running to waste as at present. The following is a brief description of the rivers of Angul.

Mahānadī. The Mahānadī forms the southern boundary of Angul and flows in an easterly direction past the villages of Tikarparā, Hātikhāl, Gaindi and Beherāsāhi. A few miles west of Tikarparā the river enters the Barmūl gorge (known locally as Sātkosiā Gand), which takes its name from the village of Barmūl in Daspallā at its southern extremity. The gorge is 14 miles long; here the river winds round magnificently wooded hills, 1,500 to 2,500 feet in height; crags and peaks of a solitary wild beauty overhang its channel, which at one part is so narrow that the water rises 70 feet at time of flood. The Mahānadī carries a large traffic in timber and bamboos, which are floated down on rafts. Large country boats can also ply along it, but it would be much improved as a highway of commerce, if the rocks, which are very numerous higher up its course, were blasted and its channel deepened in places; if these improvements were effected, steam launches might, it is said, ply between Cuttack and Sambalpur. Its principal tributary in this district is the Barajorā, 25 miles long, which rises in the Kukurāghāti hills, and falls into it near Tikarparā.

Tributaries of the Brāhmanī. All the other important rivers of the district are tributaries of the Brāhmanī, such as the Tikrā, Nigrā, Singrā and Nandīr rivers.

Tikrā. The Tikrā, which has a total length of 125 miles, takes its rise in Bāmra State, flows through Rairākhol, and after passing through a portion of Angul, joins the Brāhmanī in Tālcher. Its principal tributary is the Aunlī, 45 miles long, which rises in Athmallik, flows through Angul and Bāmra, and meets it near Sarpāl. The Aunlī again is joined by the Mādlā, which rises in the hills on the borders of Athmallik, flows through Patraparā and falls into it near Bhattapāl.

Nigrā. The Nigrā, which is 110 miles long, takes its rise in the hills which form the boundary between Angul and Athmallik, and after flowing through Angul and Hindol, joins the Brāhmanī at a place called Khargaprasād in Dhenkānāl. The headquarters station of the Angul district is situated on this river. It has several tributaries, of which the principal are mentioned below.

The Baulī, 30 miles long, which takes its rise in the Larangi hills, flows through Angul and meets the Nigrā at Rankāsingā. The Mātiliā, 28 miles long, rises in the Krishnachakra hills, and after flowing past Purunāgarh, the old headquarters of the Angul State, falls into the Nigrā near Partarā. The Mātlā, 15 miles, rises in Hindol, flows through Purunāgarh and Talmūl, and falls into it near Similichhāi.

The only two other streams calling for special mention are the Singrā and the Nandīr. The Singrā, 72 miles, takes its rise among the Sārīsuā hills and flows through Angul into Tālcher, where it joins the Brāhmanī. The Nandīr, 35 miles long, takes its rise in the Durgāpur hills, and flowing through Angul, also joins the Brāhmanī. Singrā and Nandīr.

There are no large rivers in the Khondmāls, and only four considerable hill streams, viz., the Bāghnadī, the Sālkī, and their tributaries, the Sunānadī and the Pilāsālkī. Bāghnadī.

The Bāghnadī rises in the hills near Bandhagarh to the extreme south of the subdivision, and thence pursues a westerly course till some miles north of Sāringiā, where it turns abruptly at right angles and flows due north through the hills, eventually falling into the Mahānadī in Baud.

The Sālkī rises in the great tableland round Udayagiri in Ganjām and flows due north almost straight across the subdivision, which it divides into two nearly equal parts; like the Bāghnadī, it joins the Mahānadī in Baud. Sālkī.

The Bāghnadi and the Sālkī do not dry up completely in the hot weather, but the other two rivers named above, together with their numerous feeders, all become dry after the rains are over. None of the streams are fit for navigation; in the rains they are swollen and rapid, and at other times of the year they are either too shallow or quite dry in places. Their beds are tortuous and rocky, and in many places consist of solid sheets of rock covered with only a few inches of water. Here and there, however, there are deep pools, which never dry up, and in which fish swarm in the dry season. The streams are usually shut in by high banks, over which there is generally small chance of an overflow; and if the banks are overtopped after unusually heavy rain, the water cannot spread far owing to the hills and slopes running down to the water's edge. None of these larger streams are used for irrigation. When full, they are too rapid to divert, and when irrigation is needed, they are dry. Some of the smaller feeder streams, however, retain water for two or three months after the rainy season, and could be utilized; for they are capable of being harnessed at no great cost, and the water

could be carried over a fairly large extent of country if diverted sufficiently high up at the foot of the hills.

GEOLOGY. No recent geological work has been done in Angul, the papers quoted below* being the only ones dealing with the area. The geological formations which occur are the Archæan and the Gondwāna. The district may be divided geologically by a line running approximately east and west near the centre; the rocks north of this line being sedimentary, whilst those occurring to the south are igneous and metamorphic. The Archæan rocks in the south consist of gneiss and quartz schist. The gneiss is very variable in constitution, and includes granitic, micaceous, quartzose and hornblendic varieties; it is often traversed by small granitic dykes. The general strike of the foliation planes of the gneiss is W. N. W.—E. S. E. with a nearly vertical dip. The beds of Gondwāna age occurring in the north comprise the Mahādeva, Kamthi, Barākar and the Tālcher divisions, of which the division first named belongs to the Upper Gondwānas, while the Kamthi (also known as Hingir), Barākar and Tālcher divisions belong to the Lower Gondwānas. The Mahādeva group consists of sandstones and grits; the Kamthi group of grits, sandstones and shales. These grits and sandstones are often ferruginous. The Barākar group consists of alternations of shale and sandstones, the upper part being largely made up of carbonaceous shales. This carbonaceous shale band, although of small extent, is the most interesting of the series; most of the fossils from the district have been obtained from this bed, viz., plant remains chiefly of the genera *vertebraria*, *pecopteris*, *glossopteris*, and *trizygia*. It is also the only bed containing coal, which, however, is not in sufficient quantity to allow of it being worked; the coal occurs in small seams varying in thickness up to three inches. These shales are well exposed at Patraparā.

The Tālcher group, which takes its name from the town of that name in the neighbouring State, consists of shales with occasional sandy beds overlying a fine-grained sandstone; these are the oldest Gondwāna rocks, and contain at or near their base a conglomerate supposed to be of glacial origin, made of large and

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* Preliminary Notice on the Coal and Iron of Tālcher in the Tributary Mahāls of Cuttack, by T. Oldham (Memoirs, Geological Survey of India, Vol. I, 1859); The Geological Structure and Relations of the Tālcher Coal Field in the District of Cuttack, by W. T. and H. F. Blanford and Wm. Theobald (Junr.) (Memoirs Geological Survey of India, Vol. I, 1859); Geology of India, 2nd edition, pages 156, 168.

I am indebted to Mr. H. C. Jones, Assistant Superintendent, Geological Survey of India, for the above account.

small boulders of granite and gneiss embedded in a matrix varying from a fine shale to a coarse sandstone. The boundary between these lower beds and the gneiss is very much complicated by a number of small faults associated with which are occasional dykes of dark green rock (amphibolite?), especially near Sākosingā and Rāmidihi, which dykes do not, however, penetrate the Gondwānas. The total thickness of the Gondwānas must exceed 4,000 feet, and they form a shallow basin with a great fault to the north.

Alluvium occurs in various parts of the district and is often of considerable thickness; in the Aunlī valley it exceeds 100 feet. The calcareous concretions known as *kankar* are very abundant throughout the alluvium. Iron ore occurs in the Gondwāna beds and has been worked by the natives; the ore consists of sandstones impregnated with iron oxides, red and brown hematite, and argillaceous carbonate. Gold has been obtained by washing the sands of the Tikrā river.

BOTANY. Extensive forests clothe the hills and valleys both in the Angul subdivision and the Khondmāls. The principal constituent of these forests is *sāl* (Shorea robusta), but bamboos are also plentiful, and other trees found in more or less abundance are Anogneissus latifolia, Largerstrœmia parviflora, Albizzia, Odina cordifolia, Ougenia dalbergioides, Sterculia urens, Phyllanthus, Eugenia Jambolana, various Terminalia, such as *āsan* (T. tomentosa) and *baherā* (T. belerica), ebony (Diospyros melanoxylon), and mango (Mangifera indica). *Mahuā* (Bassia latifolia) is very common in the Khondmāls and is a tree of great economic importance, as its blossoms furnish a staple food; and among other minor products of the forests are catechu, which is extracted to a small extent by the Khairās and disposed of locally, and *sabai* grass (Ischœmum angustifolium), which is exported to the paper mills round Calcutta.

In the Angul subdivision a large area has been constituted reserved forest. The forests to the north consist, to a great extent, of pure bamboo forest situated on very dry soil and of *sāl*. In the south there are three different types. The forests situated on high, steep and stony hillsides contain bamboos and a mixed growth of the species mentioned above, sometimes without *sāl* or with *sāl* of stunted growth only. The second type consists of *sāl* forest in the hilly and less accessible areas, which is sometimes pure, but is more usually associated with an abundant crop of bamboos and intermixed with isolated trees of other species. The third type consists of *sāl* on gentle slopes or level ground, which has suffered from *jhūm* cultivation in the past, but only requires proper conservation to develop into magnificent and very valuable

forests. Outside the reserved forests there are large areas in which the steep stony hills are covered for the most part with bamboo forest, intermixed here and there with other species, which gradually shades off into a mixed forest of various species as more level ground is reached.

FAUNA. These forests harbour a great number of wild animals. There are wild elephants and bison in their deeper recesses, tigers, leopards, deer, wild pigs and wild dogs in the lighter jungle, and bears on all the hills; and the yearly loss in human lives and cattle and the damage to crops from the depredations of wild animals are naturally very great.

The carnivorous animals include tiger, leopard, bear, hyæna, wolf and wild dog, besides other smaller species, such as fox, jackal, weasel and otter. The ungulata usually met with are *sāmbar* (Cervus unicolor), *chītal* or spotted deer (Cervus axis), bison, *nīlgai* (Boselaphus tragocamelus), barking deer (Cervulus muntjac), mouse deer (Meminua indica), wild pig and elephants.

Carnivora. In the Angul subdivision the habitat of tigers is the hilly tract covered with dense forests to the south and west. They are fairly numerous, especially in the country bordering on the Hindol State, their spoor being seen along the beds of most nullahs; an unusual characteristic of these animals is that they frequent certain localities and do not, as a rule, seem to wander beyond them, except during the rutting season; in one or two instances, however, they have been found straying in open country miles away from any jungle. In these localities one is almost certain to meet with them at almost any time along certain paths or roads, which they regularly patrol. The depredations continually committed by these brutes in the villages lying on the fringe of or within the forest tract are very extensive, a large number of valuable plough oxen and buffaloes being killed annually; instances are also known of cattle being attacked in outlying isolated villages while in their bamboo enclosures, but this does not happen frequently. A few tigers are destroyed every year, usually by being shot over their kills. Man-eaters are fortunately scarce, except towards the Hindol State, where their presence greatly interferes with forest exploitation; but during the monsoon of 1905, when the undergrowth was dense and grew close up to the villages, these brutes were very much in evidence; in most cases the kills were scarcely touched, from which it would

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This account of the Fauna of Angul has been compiled from notes contributed by Mr. T. I. Pocock, Extra Assistant Conservator of Forests, formerly in charge of the Angul Forest Division, and Mr. A. J. Ollenbach, Subdivisional Officer of the Khondmāls.

appear that the tigers were not habitual man-eaters, but had taken to killing through sheer vice. The main road leading to the Khondmāls through the dense forests in the south was also held up by a tiger for several months between Jagannāthpur and the Mahānadī river. A reward was offered for the destruction of this tiger, which killed 14 or 15 people; but the reward was never claimed, for it was gored to death by some buffaloes when it attacked their herdsman. Another animal, which killed several people about the same time in the Tarās village, met its end in a similar manner, while attempting to carry off a grazier in practically open country, being gored by a buffalo and then shot. This particular animal had become so daring that he would prowl round the villages during the day, and carry off men and women while collecting leaves or fire-wood.

In the Khondmāls tigers frequent the wilder portion to the west of the subdivision, where the villages are far apart and the population sparse; they are seldom heard of in the more thickly peopled areas to the east. Tigers are very destructive to cattle grazing in the forest in the former tract, and have been known to kill or wound six large buffaloes in a single attack. Cow-herds go armed with their cattle and sometimes sit up over a kill, but in the five years ending in 1905 rewards were claimed for only three tigers. Man-eaters fortunately are scarce; the few tigers who have taken to man-eating do not confine their depredations to some favourite locality, but wander over great distances, carrying away solitary wood-cutters and ploughmen.

Leopards are not very numerous in the Angul subdivision. They usually frequent the scrub-jungle which is always found round the villages at the foot of the hills, and at times may be seen in the light cover out in the open, to which they have wandered during the night while in search of prey. As a rule, they are not troublesome, and they rarely break into exposed cattle-pens in the villages. They have not been known to attack men, except in self-defence during a beat, and so far no instances have been recorded of their having become man-eaters. A small number are shot every year by local *shikāris*. In the Khondmāls, on the other hand, they are found in numbers in the vicinity of every village. Goats, sheep and dogs are frequently destroyed by them, but they have never been known to try conclusions with a bull or a buffalo, except in one instance in which a leopard killed a fairly large bullock. This brute was afterwards shot, but not until he had learnt the trick of letting himself down into a house by making a hole in the thatched

roof, and then making his exit in the same way after killing all the goats inside. Another got into a house after some goats, but the inmates woke up in time to close and fasten the door on him; next morning he was found huddled up in a corner with the cattle, having attempted to do no further damage. Children are frequently carried away from their houses, and a story is told of a leopard who made a dash at a roll of matting in front of a doorway, mistaking it for a sleeping child. There are several cases on record of leopards having become man-eaters in the Khondmāls. A big boy was once taken away from a busy market, but old women and children are more frequently attacked. Within the two years ending in 1905, 58 persons and 227 cattle are reported to have been killed in the Khondmāls by tigers, and 18 persons and 172 cattle by leopards, but many of the deaths ascribed to tigers were probably due to leopards, as usually all cases in which the pug marks are not visible are attributed to tigers. Only 19 leopards were destroyed during these two years; they are usually trapped in wooden cages and then shot. These animals are great climbers; they find no difficulty in ascending 20 or 30 feet up a smooth bark after monkeys, and are fond of putting away the remains of a kill on a high branch for a second meal or for their young ones, whom they bring with them on the following night.

In the Angul subdivision bears (Ursus melursus) are numerous in the inaccessible, rocky, scrub-clad hills in the Durgāpur Range; their numbers are small in the dense forests to the south, probably owing to the scarcity of *mahuā* trees, to the flower of which they are very partial. They usually descend to the villages and waste land during the night to feed on white-ants and the *bair* and other fruits. Sugarcane plantations and fields of Indian-corn are not infrequently raided by them, and they are known to leave cover and go long distances in order to enjoy this dainty food. They are plentiful in all parts of the Khondmāls, and come out of the jungles in large numbers, when the fig and jack trees are in fruit and the *mahuā* in flower. They are also tempted to visit the interior of villages by the paddy husks thrown out of the houses after the winter harvest, and do great damage to the villagers' sugarcane and maize. When these crops are ready for harvesting, watchmen have to sit up the whole night beating empty tins and keeping large fires alive to scare them away. Occasionally the villagers surround a bear in a bit of jungle and hack it to pieces with their axes. Only four cases are on record in the two years ending in 1905 of people having been killed by bears or dying from the effects of a mauling. In

one of these, the skull was smashed and the brains eaten up, but the rest of the body was untouched.

Hyænas (Hyæna striata) are common in the vicinity of villages, where they live principally on carrion. The village dogs are frequently carried off by them, and to this reason is ascribed the comparatively small number of pariahs or mongrels to be seen in most villages. Wolves are few; they are of the grey species, and usually haunt certain localities. They are very destructive to goats and sheep, but in no instance have they been known to molest human beings. Wild dogs infest the forests in the Angul subdivision; in the north and west of the Khondmāls they are usually found in small packs, in which they systematically hunt game: the comparative scantiness of deer, etc., in certain localities is, it is believed, due more to these dogs than to the illicit shooting formerly common. When hunting their prey, they are quite fearless, and have repeatedly been known to follow up and kill *sāmbar* within a village clearing. Jackals and foxes usually prowl about the villages, of which they may be said to be the scavengers. They also take off a number of poultry during the rains when the jungle is high.

Ungulata. *Sāmbar* (Cervus unicolor) are found all over the forest area in the Angul subdivision and in the west of the Khondmāls, but cannot be said to be plentiful. It is most difficult to get at them owing to the density of the forests, and also because they usually resort to the hill tops from which they can watch the approach of danger. They are extremely destructive to crops, and special precautions have to be taken to protect the fields against their inroads, by erecting strong bamboo fencing, posting watchmen, and burning bonfires. Numbers are killed every year by tigers and wild dogs, and not a few fall to the gun of the poacher, who usually shoots them over a water-hole in the summer or a salt-lick in the rains. *Chītal* or spotted deer (Cervus axis) are plentiful only in certain localities, such as the northern part of Durgāpur and near Tulukā and Tikarparā, where the forest is open and undergrowth scanty; like *sāmbar*, they do great damage to the winter crops, and also to the young paddy. Small herds of bison are found in the reserved forests, in several well-wooded localities where there is good pasturage. In the Khondmāls they used to be found in the forests round Balandāparā till a few years ago, but they have now migrated to Patnā and Kālāhandi. *Nilgai* (Boselaphus tragocamelus) are scarce, and are only to be found in the dry, open forests of Durgāpur, in the scrub-jungle near Tulukā and Majhiparā in the south of the Angul subdivision, and in the country round Kumārkhol in the

Khondmāls. Barking deer (Cervulus muntjac) are plentiful everywhere in the hills. Mouse deer are numerous in the Angul subdivision, but the larger herds have been exterminated in the Khondmāls, and they are now found only in the south-western corner of the subdivision. Wild pig (Sus cristatus) swarm in the forest tract, and wander about in large herds, doing great damage both to the young growth in the forest, as well as to the crops in the fields, which they usually invade at night and from which it is well nigh impossible to drive them once they effect an entrance. A certain number are shot by the villagers in their fields, and still more are killed by tigers, which are particularly fond of their flesh. Their numbers are greatly on the increase, as poaching has, to a great extent, been put a stop to since the enforcement of the Arms Act in the district. The Khonds and Oriyās catch the young males and rear them in order to furnish a banquet at their marriage feasts.

Elephants abound in the southern part of the Angul subdivision, and a few exist in the Durgāpur forests. They wander about in herds ranging from 10 to 60 animals, doing incalculable damage to the forests by uprooting young saplings and stripping off the bark of valuable trees; they also occasion great loss to the villagers by walking through their paddy crops, and destroying them wholesale. They are a regular scourge to the villagers living within and on the skirts of the jungle, several of whom have been on more than one occasion on the point of abandoning their holdings, and have with the greatest difficulty been induced to remain. In some localities, in fact, the cultivators in despair have given up all attempts to sow any crops except in the immediate vicinity of their huts. The *kheddahs* held in recent years by the District Officer have resulted in the capture of 78 animals, big and small; but several more successful drives will have to be effected before their numbers will be diminished to any appreciable extent.

Kheddah operations. Three *kheddahs* have now been held, viz., in 1898, 1903 and 1905. It was intended to hold a *kheddah* every alternate year, if the season proved favourable, but this has not been possible; for in some years the operations had to be postponed on account of the water-supply being scanty or the outturn of crops being short, with the result that the men engaged in the work, who are Government ryots, could not be spared from their fields. Great difficulties have had to be overcome, for before 1898 no one in Angul had had any experience in catching elephants; no trained or decoy elephants were available; even the nails and spears required had to be made on the spot. The novelty of the

operations may be gathered from the fact that for the first drive, in 1893, a number of *paiks* or old militia men turned out with rusty match-locks, swords and axes, and marched up, with drums beating, as if to a battlefield. The following account of an Angul *kheddah* has been prepared from a note contributed by the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. E. McLeod Smith.

The elephants having been located in the forest, the block in which the herd has been found is surrounded by coolies, 2 men being placed at each post, and the posts being 60 to 100 feet apart. The thick jungle in this outer line is cleared, so as to allow the men to see the watchers at the next post and to stop the elephants, if they break through. The stockade having been built, a force of 200 men, including trackers and beaters with drums and empty kerosene tins, and *paiks* armed with match-locks, drive the elephants towards it. In *kheddahs* held elsewhere in open forests, coolies from the outer line generally close up and make the drive, separate men not being employed for the purpose. In Angul the coolies are kept seated at their posts on the outer circle, because the forests are too dense for a successful drive to be made in this manner, and also because the men employed are new to the work, timid, and ready to run away on the approach of the elephants. By keeping them at their posts, the elephants cannot escape from the surround, even if a drive fails. As a further safeguard, dry bamboos are collected at different places along the path and sprinkled with kerosene oil; as soon as the elephants pass each heap, the men run down the hills and light it, so that the elephants cannot retreat.

The elephants at last come rushing through the forest along the path leading to the stockade, which is carefully concealed in the brushwood. It is built in the following manner. Two rows of posts are first fixed in the ground, the posts in each row being from 3 to 5 feet apart. The space between them is filled up by old and rotten wood, branches, and crooked tree stems, until the whole forms a wall about 2 feet thick and 12 feet high. It is bound with cross pieces and strengthened with buttresses on the outer side, and there is a balcony all round; some openings are left at the base of the wall to enable the tiers to escape, if attacked. The entrance faces the path along which the elephants are to be driven, and the gate, which is spiked on the inner side, is swung up by means of a rope passed over the branch of a tree and tied to another tree some distance off. Two wing walls are built in the same way, one on each side, to prevent the elephants swerving during the drive; and men are placed at the end of each to prevent them breaking through and to give the final rush. A

watcher sits on one of the wing walls close to the gate, and another man a little further off to cut the rope that keeps the gate up.

As soon as the elephants enter the stockade, the watcher at the gate signals to the latter, who severs the rope; the gate falls down, shutting in the elephants; and big logs are placed against it outside, so as to keep it firm. The men now climb the balcony with spears, guns and torches, in order to keep off the elephants from the palisade and to prevent them making an effort to escape. There the elephants remain for the night, huddled up close together, each trying to hide between his companions. Now and then one of the large elephants will push a smaller one out of the circle thus formed, and all will then attack it, until driven off by the shouts of the men and the firing of blank charges. Some of the bolder ones charge at the spiked gate and others at the palisade, only to be driven back with spears and pikes. In the morning a gap in the stockade is opened, and tame elephants are sent in, with *mahauts* armed with long spears, and tiers sitting behind them. The wild elephants having been separated one by one from their companions and squeezed between two tame ones, the tiers slip down, bind their hind legs, and tie them to the trees within the enclosure. The elephants make desperate efforts to throw off the noose with their trunks or to snap the ropes with which their legs were bound; some almost standing on their heads, the ropes tied to the trees keeping their legs up; others twisting their bodies into all shapes, and straining every muscle to snap the cords. At the last *kheddah* a small enclosure was made at one side of the stockade, into which two or three elephants at a time were enticed. The tame elephants having then been sent in, they were tied by the tiers, dragged out and picketed to the trees outside.

The march out of the forest is a task of great difficulty. Each animal of medium size has to be secured between two tame elephants, and each large female has to be led by three tame ones, the small calves walking along the side of their mothers. At every familiar path which crosses the road they give trouble; and one year their trumpeting at the first camping ground brought to the spot several wild elephants, which were only kept off by incessant shouting and firing of guns through the whole night.

Rodents. Rodents include hare, porcupine and squirrels, grey and brown. Hares are plentiful, and are found chiefly in scrub-jungle. They are shot in the Khondmāls on dark nights during the monsoon, when they come out on the dry ridges above the fields. The usual practice is for two men to go out together, one carrying a jar on his head with a fire alight in it, which attracts the hares and gives his companion an easy shot. Porcupines are

common and are very destructive to young trees, which they girdle with their sharp teeth. The large brown squirrel is seen in the forest, usually in pairs; it is hunted and eaten with great relish by the aborigines. Squirrels are kept as pets by the Khonds, in whose houses they make a nest under the thatch.

Two species of monkey are met with, the black-faced (*hanumān*) and, in certain localities close to villages, the ordinary brown species. The former, which is the commoner, avoids all settlements and villages; it is hunted by a wandering tribe called Sabākhiās, who consider its flesh a great delicacy. **Primates.**

The following game birds are obtained in the Angul subdivision:—jungle, spur and pea-fowl, and bush quail. The grey goose has been seen, and of ducks the red headed, shoveller, ruddy sheldrake and comb duck. The common blue-winged teal, whistler and cotton teal are found in large numbers throughout the year in the tanks scattered throughout the subdivision; while snipe (pintail) are plentiful in most swamps and paddy fields during the winter. In the Khondmāls, snipe, quail and green pigeons are common, but larger varieties are scarce, with the exception of pea and jungle fowl; there are no geese, duck and teal, presumably owing to the absence of large rivers or disused tanks. Pea-fowl are plentiful, but owing to the amount of cover they can find, are difficult to beat out. They are frequently shot under cover of a coloured screen, on which a large peacock is drawn, which the birds presumably mistake for a live one, as it flutters in the breeze. **Game birds.**

In the Mahānadī *rahu* (or *rohi*), *bhākur* and *chital* are found, and the *māgur* and other smaller varieties are reared in tanks. The *rahu* and *bhākur* are also found in the Bāgh, Sunā and Sālkī rivers and other hill streams in the Khondmāls. **Fish.**

The boa constrictor, cobra, *chitli* or *karait* (Bungarus coeruleus), and Russell's viper, whip-snake and ordinary grass snake are found, but deaths from snake-bite are not common. **Reptiles.**

The climate of the Angul subdivision is, on the whole, hot, and in the months of April, May and June the heat is intense, the temperature in these months rising as high as 114° in the shade. The cold weather, which commences in November and ends in February, is pleasant, but not as bracing or as enjoyable as in Chotā Nāgpur and Bihār; in the forests, however, the nights during the month of December are very cold. These months are practically rainless, but there is usually a little rain about the middle of January. The hot weather sets in in March, and the heat gradually increases until about the middle of June, when the first instalment of the monsoon arrives. July and August **CLIMATE.**

are, on the whole, not unpleasant, but September and October are trying months, for the air is damp and steamy, while the sun's rays are extremely strong.

In the Khondmāls the climate is dry, bracing, and comparatively cool, and forms a pleasant contrast to that of the plains. The temperature in the hottest weather seldom rises above 102° in the shade, and that only for a few weeks in the year; and the nights are chilly, making the use of a blanket almost throughout the year a necessity, while in the cold weather a fire at night is indispensable. The temperature is, however, very variable, there being a sharp fall as soon as the sun disappears behind the hills in the evening. The cold weather begins in October and often lasts well into March. It is a dry bracing cold, and at this time of the year a thin layer of frost may be seen every morning on the roofs of thatched houses. The hot weather begins in April; but if, as is often the case, there are a few showers, the climate is not unpleasant till the end of that month. The rains begin in June and bring about an immediate change. At this time of the year pankhās may be dispensed with at night, and the oppressive moist heat of the plains is unknown.

An account of the climate, in relation to health, will be found in Chapter V.

Rainfall. The rainfall varies considerably in different parts of the district; thus in the 5 years ending in 1906, the average annual fall in the Angul subdivision was 45·68 inches at Angul, 47·28 at Chhindipadā, 54·15 inches at Tikarparā; and in the Khondmāls 53·92 inches at Phulbāni and 61·99 inches at Balandāparā. In the district, as a whole, only an inch or less falls monthly from November to March; in normal years the monsoon breaks in June, when there are 9·77 inches, and the heaviest fall (12·17 inches) occurs in July. In August the normal fall is 10·45 inches, decreasing to 9·56 inches in September and to 4·52 inches in October. The following table shows the rainfall recorded at the two oldest registering stations in Angul and the Khondmāls during the cold weather, hot weather and rainy season; the figures shown being the averages recorded in each case:—

Station.	Years recorded.	November to February.	March to May.	June to October.	Annual average.
Angul	19—20	2·52	5·13	43·64	51·29
Khondmals ...	19—20	1·79	4·32	49·33	55·44
Average ...	...	2·15	4·72	46·48	53·36

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

History of Angul. Early history.

ANGUL, in common with other parts of the Garhjāts or hill tracts of Orissa, is believed to have been inhabited at one time by aboriginal Khonds, who at an early date were driven back into the rocky fastnesses of the Khondmāls by successive waves of Hindu immigrants. It seems certain, at least, that many centuries ago the numerous loosely formed principalities in this hilly region passed under the sway of military adventurers, who found the country an easy prey. The earlier rulers were often at feud with one another, and it was easy to provoke a quarrel here, or stir up an intrigue there, and then take advantage of the dissension to seize the chief's fortress, the possession of which in those days meant the government of the State. There is no record of these different conquests, but gradually a number of States in the mountainous hinterland of Orissa, including Angul, appear to have acknowledged the overlordship of warrior chiefs, who were or claimed to be Rājputs. Angul had the same history as its neighbours, at one time warring successfully and gaining a few villages, at another time warring unsuccessfully and losing a few; and while in the Orissa delta a great civilization waxed and waned in these early times, the Garhjāts remained practically barbarous and untouched by outside influences.

Relations with the British.

In 1803, Angul was ceded to the British by the Marāthās, whose suzerainty over Orissa had been established half a century before; and its chief entered into an engagement, by which he bound himself to maintain submission and loyalty to the government of the East India Company and to pay an annual *peshkash* or tribute of Rs. 1,250. In 1814 Somnāth Singh succeeded to the principality. He soon acquired an evil reputation as an oppressor among his own people and a filibuster among his neighbours. In 1831 he plundered part of the territory of the Rājā of Daspallā, and when directed to pay the value of the property plundered, persistently evaded payment, though often threatened with the attachment of his State. In 1837 his servants having murdered six persons in cold blood—it was believed,

under his orders—he was called upon to surrender the murderers, but contumaciously refused. He was eventually forced, however, to obey both orders by Mr. Ricketts, Commissioner of Orissa and Superintendent of the Tributary Mahāls, who availed himself of the presence of a military force which was then marching up the Mahānadī to co-operate with the Gumsur Commissioner in the suppression of the Khond war, to enforce the orders which the Rājā had contemptuously disregarded. After the suppression of the Gumsur rebellion (1836-37), he gave a clear indication of his treachery by giving shelter to Dorā Bisoi, the Khond leader in that rebellion, but endeavoured to conceal it by writing to the Commissioner—"If I seize Dorā Bisoi, what terms will be allowed him?" The answer was promptly given. "From your writing, I know you have him in your fastness. His life shall be spared, if he is delivered to my officer by such a date; if not, the Cuttack force will march upon you." This threat was effectual in bringing the Rājā to his senses, and Dorā Bisoi was given up.* In the internal administration of the State, Somnāth Singh showed an equal disregard of his obligations. He was the foremost and most systematic violator of the rule that no transit dues were to be levied, and established a regular toll-house at Tikarparā under the shelter of a fort there; he connived with organized bands of robbers and took a share of their plunder; and in 1845-46 he attacked and forcibly occupied a village in Hindol.†

Annexation of Angul. Matters soon after this came to a climax, when the Rājā openly defied the British Government and assisted the Khonds in one of their periodical rebellions. He had executed an agreement not to give them any assistance or afford the rebel chiefs an asylum, but in spite of this, Chakra Bisoi, the nephew and representative of Dorā Bisoi, had been residing in Angul since 1837. In 1846, when this chief headed another rebellion in Gumsur, the Angul Rājā gave him assistance; and next year, when the Khonds of Baud broke out in revolt under Nabaghan Kahanra and his son Bīr Kahanra, the Rājā sent a detachment to support them. To add to the tale of his misdeeds, a body of *paiks* from Angul crossed the Mahānadī in the latter year and destroyed two villages belonging to the Rājā of Daspallā. The Rājā was summoned to Cuttack to account for his conduct, but refused to obey the summons; and at this open defiance, following on a long career of disobedience, mismanagement and oppression, Government decided on the deposition of the Rājā and the annexation of his

* Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1841.

† Papers on the State of the Tributary Mahāls, Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No. III, 1867.

country. Accordingly, in December 1847, a proclamation was published announcing the annexation of Angul, and a warrant was issued for the arrest of the Rājā.

Colonel Campbell, the Meriāh Agent, with a force of three regiments of infantry, a battery of artillery and a squadron of irregular cavalry, invaded Angul from Ganjām in co-operation with a smaller detachment, which advanced from the Central Provinces under Colonel Ouseley, Agent for the South-West Frontier. It was anticipated that a stout resistance would be offered, for the Rājā commanded a force of 6,000 or 7,000 *paiks*, and had a number of Muhammadans and discharged sepoys and gunners in his pay. His fortress was in the most inaccessible part of the country and was defended by two strong stockades, and he possessed 12 guns, two of which had wheeled carriages and were as good as those used by the Government troops. The Angul army proved, however, a useless rabble, and the country was occupied, practically without a blow, in 1848. The Rājā was captured, and a series of charges of aggression and murder being proved against him, was sent as a State prisoner to Hazāribāgh, where he remained till his death. Angul thus passed under the direct rule of the British, and was administered by the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahāls through the agency of an officer known officially as a Tahsīldār, who collected revenue and administered justice, until 1891, when Angul was constituted a separate district, the Khondmāls being added to it.

HISTORY OF THE KHONDMĀLS. When Orissa passed under British rule, the Khondmāls formed part of the State of Baud, the chief of which tendered his submission later than the other chiefs of the Hill Tracts. He awaited the result of the resistance offered by the Marāthās at the Barmūl pass a few miles west of Tikarparā in this district, which has aptly been described as the key to the Central Provinces. When Major Forbes forced the pass in November 1803, and routed the Marāthās, the chief of Baud submitted, and in March 1804 entered into a treaty engagement with the East India Company. Till 1837 Baud formed part of the South-West Frontier Agency, but the Khondmāls appear to have attracted but little notice* until the prevalence of human sacrifice and infanticide was brought to light. The following account of the practice of human sacrifice among the Khonds is quoted from *The Golden Bough* by Mr. J. G. Frazer.

* Even Stirling, a well-informed authority, seems to have known little of the Khondmāls; for, in referring to the Khonds in his Account of Orissa, published in 1822, he says:—"The natives have the idea of a district situated between Daspallā, Boad and Gumsir, inhabited entirely by this tribe of hill people.

Human sacrifices.

"The best known case of human sacrifices systematically offered to ensure good crops is supplied by the Khonds or Kandhs. The sacrifices were offered to the earth goddess, Tari Pennu or Bera Pennu,* and were believed to ensure good crops and immunity from all disease and accidents. In particular, they were considered necessary in the cultivation of turmeric, the Khonds arguing that the turmeric could not have a deep red colour without the shedding of blood. The victim or Meriāh was acceptable to the goddess only if he had been purchased, or had been born a victim, *i.e.*, the son of a victim father, or had been devoted as a child by his father or guardian. Khonds in distress often sold their children for victims, considering the beatification of their souls certain and their death, for the benefit of mankind, the most honourable possible. The victims were often kept for years before they were sacrificed. Being regarded as consecrated beings, they were treated with extreme affection, mingled with deference, and were welcomed wherever they went. A Meriāh youth, on attaining maturity, was generally given a wife, who was herself usually a Meriāh or victim, and with her he received a portion of land and farm-stock. Their offspring were also victims.

"Human sacrifices were offered to the earth goddess by tribes, branches of tribes, or villages, both at periodical festivals and on extraordinary occasions. The periodical sacrifices were generally so arranged by tribes and divisions of tribes that each head of a family was enabled, at least once a year, to procure a shred of flesh for his fields, generally about the time when his chief crop was laid down. The mode of performing these tribal sacrifices was as follows. Ten or twelve days before the sacrifice, the victim was devoted by cutting off his hair, which until then was kept unshorn. Crowds of men and women assembled to witness the sacrifice: none might be excluded, since the sacrifice was declared to be for all mankind. It was preceded by several days of wild revelry and gross debauchery. On the day before the sacrifice the victim, dressed in a new garment, was led forth from the village in solemn procession, with music and dancing, to the Meriāh grove, which was a clump of high forest trees standing a little way from the village and untouched by the axe. In this grove the victim was tied to a post.† He was then anointed with oil, ghee, and turmeric, and adorned with flowers; and a species of reverence, which it is not easy to distinguish from

* In the Khondmāls the name of this deity is pronounced and spelt as Tānā Penū or Burā Penu.

† In the Khondmāls the post was buried in front of the house of the Jākeri, and not in the sacred grove.

adoration, was paid to him throughout the day. A great struggle now arose to obtain the smallest relic from his person; a particle of the turmeric paste with which he was smeared, or a drop of his spittle, was esteemed of sovereign virtue, especially by the women. The crowd danced round the post to music, and addressing the earth, said:—'O God, we offer this sacrifice to you; give us good crops, seasons and health.'

"On the last morning the orgies, which had been scarcely interrupted during the night, were resumed, and continued till noon, when they ceased, and the assembly proceeded to consummate the sacrifice. The victim was again anointed with oil, and each person touched the anointed part, and wiped the oil on his own head. In some places the victim was then taken in procession round the village from door to door, where some plucked hair from his head, and others begged for a drop of his spittle, with which they anointed their heads. As the victim might not be bound nor make any show of resistance, the bones of his arms and, if necessary, his legs were broken; but often this precaution was rendered unnecessary by stupefying him with opium.

"The mode of putting him to death varied in different places. One of the commonest modes seems to have been strangulation, or squeezing to death. The branch of a green tree was cleft several feet down the middle: the victim's neck (in other places, his chest) was inserted in the cleft, which the priest, aided by his assistants, strove with all his force to close. Then he wounded the victim slightly with his axe, whereupon the crowd rushed at the victim and cut the flesh from the bones, leaving the head and bowels untouched. Sometimes he was cut up alive. In Chinna Kimedy he was dragged along the fields, surrounded by the crowd, who, avoiding his head and intestines, hacked the flesh from his body with their knives till he died. Another very common mode of sacrifice in the same district was to fasten the victim to the proboscis of a wooden elephant, which revolved on a stout post, and, as it whirled round, the crowd cut the flesh from the victim while life remained. In one district the victim was put to death slowly by fire. A low stage was formed, sloping on either side like a roof; upon it the victim was placed, his limbs wound round with cords to confine his struggles. Fires were then lighted and hot brands applied, to make him roll up and down the slopes of the stage as long as possible; for the more tears he shed, the more abundant would be the supply of rain. Next day the body was cut to pieces.

"The flesh cut from the victim was instantly taken home by the persons who had been deputed by each village to bring it.

To secure its rapid arrival, it was sometimes forwarded by relays of men, and conveyed with postal fleetness 50 or 60 miles. In each village all who stayed at home fasted rigidly until the flesh arrived. The bearer deposited it in the place of public assembly, where it was received by the priest and the heads of families. The priest divided it into two portions, one of which he offered to the earth goddess by burying it in a hole in the ground with his back turned, and without looking. Then each man added a little earth to bury it, and the priest poured water on the spot from a hill gourd. The other portion of flesh he divided into as many shares as there were heads of houses present. Each head of a house rolled his shred of flesh in leaves, and buried it in his favourite field, placing it in the earth behind his back without looking. In some places each man carried his portion of flesh to the stream which watered his fields, and there hung it on a pole. For three days thereafter no house was swept; and in one district strict silence was observed, no fire might be given out, no wood cut, and no strangers received. The remains of the human victim (namely, the head, bowels and bones) were watched by strong parties the night after the sacrifice; and next morning they were burned, along with a whole sheep, on a funeral pile. The ashes were scattered over the fields, laid as paste over the houses and granaries, or mixed with the new corn to preserve it from insects. Sometimes, however, the head and bones were buried, not burnt.

"In these Khond sacrifices the Meriāhs are represented by our authorities as victims offered to propitiate the earth goddess. But from the treatment of the victims, both before and after death, it appears that the custom cannot be explained as merely a propitiatory sacrifice. A part of the flesh certainly was offered to the earth goddess, but the rest of the flesh was buried by each householder in his fields, and the ashes of the other parts of the body were scattered over the fields, laid as paste on the granaries, or mixed with the new corn. These latter customs imply that to the body of the Meriāh there was ascribed a direct or intrinsic power of making the crops to grow, quite independent of the indirect efficacy which it might have as an offering to secure the good will of the deity. In other words, the flesh and ashes of the victim were believed to be endowed with a magical or physical power of fertilizing the land. The same intrinsic power was ascribed to the blood and tears of the Meriāh, his blood causing the redness of the turmeric and his tears producing rain; for it can hardly be doubted that, originally at least, the tears were supposed to produce rain, not merely to prognosticate it

Similarly, the custom of pouring water on the buried flesh of the Meriāh was no doubt a rain-charm. Again, intrinsic supernatural power as an attribute of the Meriāh appears in the sovereign virtue believed to reside in any thing that came from his person, as his hair or spittle. The ascription of such power to the Meriāh indicates that he was much more than a mere man sacrificed to propitiate a deity. Once more, the extreme reverence paid him points to the same conclusion. Major Campbell speaks of the Meriāh as 'being regarded as something more than mortal,' and Major Macpherson says:—'A species of reverence, which it is not easy to distinguish from adoration, is paid to him.' In short, the Meriāh appears to have been regarded as divine. As such, he may originally have represented the earth deity, or perhaps a deity of vegetation; though in later times he came to be regarded rather as a victim offered to a deity than as himself an incarnate deity."

From the reports furnished by the local officers it appears that whatever may have been the original significance of the rites, the latter conception of the sacrifice is the one recognized by the Khonds themselves. There was, it is reported, no voluntary sacrifice. No special blessing was supposed to be in store for the victim; and at the present day, the greatest insult one can pay a Khond is to call him one's Meriāh. The victims were bought by the Khonds, as an ancient rule ordained that the Meriāh must be bought with a price. The duty of providing the victims rested with the Pāns, a degraded race attached to every Khond village, who obtained them either by kidnapping them from the plains or by local purchase. They usually kept a small stock of them in reserve; and sometimes sold their own children. The Meriāh might be of any sex, age or caste, except a Khond or a Brāhman; if a girl, she could be married by her purchaser, in which case her children become Meriāhs, and were also liable to sacrifice. A Meriāh, if grown up, was kept in chains, but was otherwise treated kindly.

There also appear to have been other methods of performing the sacrifice besides those described by Mr. Fraser. One method was to tie the victim, who had previously been stupified with liquor, by his hair to a stout wooden post on the ground. The arms and legs were then seized by four of the priest's assistants, and the body was held out horizontally from the post, face downwards. Then the priest, in the midst of the assembled Khonds, took the sacrificial knife, and, amid the yells of the victim, commenced hacking him on the back of the neck, shouting in his ear—"We bought you with a price; no sin rests on us."

Once the blood had flowed, all the Khonds rushed in, intoxicated and wildly excited, every man's object being to cut a morsel from the living victim to bury in his fields. At times, when the gathering was large, and it was feared that the blood and flesh of the victim would not go round, a disappointed Khond would, it is said, as the next best thing, slice off a piece from another Khond who was cutting the victim. When the flesh had been distributed, the Khonds rushed off to bury it in their fields, the blood-stained knife was removed with great ceremony by the officiating priest, and the sacrifice was over. Another method was to dig a shallow pit long enough to contain the victim. Into this was poured the blood of a freshly slaughtered hog. The victim, bound hand and foot, was then suffocated by having his face pressed down into the blood. Still another method was to drag the living victim over the fields followed by drunken and excited Khonds, who cut pieces from him, taking care to avoid the head and bowels in order not to kill him outright. In whatever way the rite was performed, it was invariably accompanied by the most revolting cruelty.

Female infanticide.

Female infanticide, which was prevalent among some sections of the Khonds, had apparently nothing to do with religion. According to Major Macpherson, it was forced on the people by the burden of their own marriage customs and their poverty. A Khond bought his wife, paying in kind a sum equal to Rs. 50 to Rs. 70. Once married, a Khond woman had the right to leave her husband, and go to another if she liked, and some exercised this right as many as half a dozen times. When a Khond woman left her husband, the latter had the right to demand from his father-in-law the bride price, minus whatever marriage expenses the latter had paid. The result of this system was that nobody who had a married daughter could tell what part of his property was his own, nor could his tribe, who were liable for him, tell what sum it might be called upon at any time to make good for him, or what payments it might have to enforce in his favour. The result was that a married daughter became a burden; and to the poorer and more ignorant Khonds the easiest way out of the difficulty was female infanticide. The Khonds themselves justified the practice by a curious legend. In olden times they said there were four brothers, the sons of Danka Mālikā, of whom three had eight sons each, while the fourth had two daughters. Not being able to find husbands, these girls cohabited with some of their cousins. As a punishment, their father was deprived of all his property by the other three brothers; and the guilty girls drowned themselves in a tank called Reda Bandha.

After this, the three brothers were reconciled with their father; and as the quarrel between them was due to his daughters, they determined that thenceforth their female issue should be destroyed.

Early relations with Khonds.

The first attempt to stop human sacrifices appears to have been made in 1837 by Mr. Ricketts, the Superintendent of the Tributary-Mahāls, who marched into Daspallā at the close of the Gumsur rebellion in order to co-operate with Mr. Russell and prevent the rebels from finding an asylum in the States under his control. From Mr. Russell he heard for the first time of the extensive system of human sacrifice which had been discovered in Gumsur; and enquiry soon led him to find that it was not limited to Gumsur, but also prevailed in Baud. At that time he had no jurisdiction in Baud, which was under the Agent for the South-West Frontier, but he thought the cause sufficient to justify him going into the Khondmāls, where he rescued 24 Meriāh victims. He next addressed Government on the subject, and as a result of his representations, Baud was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahāls, and strict injunctions were given to the Rājā of Baud to take every means in his power to put a stop to these horrid rites. Nothing further, however, appears to have been done; for in 1843 Mr. Mills, the successor of Mr. Ricketts, suddenly learnt, on the authority of Major Macpherson, who had been actively suppressing human sacrifices in Gumsur, that the Khonds of Baud had many Meriāhs in their keeping. Thereupon, he despatched a native officer with two *chaprāsis* into the Khondmāls to rescue Meriāh victims.

The chiefs admitted that they were aware of the orders given to the Rājā, and when asked why they still persisted in the celebration of this cruel rite, replied that "the village deity had told them that otherwise the people would die." This frank admission is significant. It not only shows that human sacrifice was based on religious conviction, but it also demonstrates unmistakably the fact that the Rājā had little or no power of control over the Khonds; and consequently the orders of the British authorities were a dead-letter. In spite, or in ignorance, of this, the efforts to repress the sacrifices were not relaxed; and in 1844 Captain Hicks was appointed Mr. Mills' Assistant for the purpose of suppressing human sacrifices. He succeeded in rescuing a number of victims; but there was great opposition to his intervention. On one occasion the *sardārs* refused to give up the Meriāh children to anyone but Mr. Mills, and began to fortify the passes. On another occasion, when Captain Hicks

was encamped at Balaskumpā, the Khonds were preparing to sacrifice a victim quite close by, and could not be induced to disperse, until they were frightened by being told that troops were close at hand. Throughout these proceedings Captain Hicks was handicapped by the fact that he had no armed force to compel obedience to his orders; the Khonds merely temporized by giving up a few victims; and eventually the Commissioner, Mr. Mills, finding that the chiefs would not acknowledge the authority of the Rājā of Baud, was obliged to report that he feared all hope of suppressing the rite through the agency of the Rājā must be abandoned.

Meriāh Agency.

At about the same time Major Macpherson reported that the work he was carrying on in Gumsur could not be maintained unless prompt and effectual measures were adopted for the abolition of the rite of sacrifice among the tribes of Baud; and he accordingly recommended that the Khonds both in Bengal and Madras should be placed under one Agent. In March 1845 Mr. Assistant-Surgeon Cadenhead, who was acting for Macpherson, confirmed his view of the situation by reporting that "the forbearance of the Khonds in Gumsur with respect to sacrifice had been severely tried by the state of affairs in Baud, where they had seen sacrifices celebrated, the orders of Government with regard to the delivery of victims set at nought, and the authority of the Rājā openly resisted." The measures already taken in Gumsur were, he said, bound to fail "if immediate steps are not taken to bring all under one uniform system; if, in spite of the efforts at present directed towards Baud, the rite shall continue to be there celebrated; if, month after month the very shouts of the sacrificers shall be heard by the people who have only relinquished the rite conditionally." These and other representations were effectual, and in July 1845 the Government of India decided to establish a Meriāh Agency for the suppression both of human sacrifices and female infanticide. Baud was accordingly removed from the jurisdiction of the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahāls and placed under the direct control of Major Macpherson, who was appointed "Agent for the suppression of Meriāh sacrifices," with three Assistants, Mr. Cadenhead, Captain Hicks and Lieutenant MacViccar. At the same time, Major Macpherson, was directed to establish his influence and the authority of the British Government without making force or intimidation the instruments of his mission; for it was thought that the display of armed force would merely cause the Khonds to seek refuge in inaccessible tracts and that any troops sent against them would be decimated by the unhealthiness of the climate.

Major Macpherson entered upon the duties of his new office at the close of 1845, and learning that 100 victims had been immolated in the Khondmāls in anticipation of the usual season for sacrifice, marched in February 1846 into Baud, where he met all the chiefs and informed them of the intentions of Government. The Rājā of Baud, thinking that Government intended to carry out its measures only if unopposed, concerted with the chiefs to repeat, as an experimental measure, the course formerly adopted with the Bengal Agent, and to give up to Government about 25 victims; but Macpherson addressed himself directly to the Khonds, and the owners of victims brought them in with such emulous haste that in 7 days over 170 were made over to him. Confident of the easy completion of his work during the next season, Macpherson prepared to leave the country, but the Khonds suddenly broke off all communication with him, and held secret councils, at which his opponents succeeded in convincing them that the Government had resolved to measure and assess all their lands, to subject the people to forced labour, and to punish their leaders for past sacrifices. A large armed mob assembled before the Agent's camp at Bisiparā, and demanded the restoration of the victims protesting that they had no thought of reverting to the sacrifice, but that their delivery to Government implied their unconditional submission to its threatened oppression and to the loss of all their rights, Macpherson, unable to enforce his orders, thereupon made over the victims to the Rājā of Baud, upon his giving a solemn guarantee that they would be kept safely and re-delivered to Government. He then retired across the Gumsur border, where the Khonds of Baud subsequently attacked him on two occasions, and did their best to incite the Gumsur tribes to revolt.*

In December 1846 a rebellion broke out in Gumsur headed by Chakra Bisoi, and troops were hurried to the front, the command being given to Brigadier-General Dyce, who brought such serious charges against the administration of Major Macpherson that he was suspended, and Colonel Campbell appointed Agent in his place: Macpherson, it may be added, completely vindicated his measures in the subsequent enquiry. With the exception of a few skirmishes, there was no regular fighting, the Khonds flying to the jungles on the approach of an armed force. The rebellion was soon quelled; but the difficulties of the operations may be realized from the following extract from a report of Colonel Campbell (afterwards Major-General Sir John

Campaign of 1847.

* Human Sacrifice and Infanticide in the Hill Tracts of Orissa, Selections from the Records of the Government of India, No. V, 1854.

Campbell, C.B.), who was appointed Agent in the Hill Tracts of Orissa in April, 1847:—"It were profitless and tiresome to recount the circuitous routes we journeyed; districts unheard of and unvisited by any European were traversed over, and more gloomy pestilential regions were rarely seen. But it was of the last importance that the work in Baud should be a thorough one; at least, that the foundation should be solid, and it could not have been so, unless we had shown ourselves in every part, and thus effectively demolished the last hope of being able to keep their victims or perform the sacrifice. With one or two exceptions, every influential man in Baud has completely submitted to the will of the Government, pledged themselves, by swearing in their most solemn manner on a tiger skin and some earth, henceforth to abstain from the performance of the Meriāh, and, in token of their submission and obedience, delivered 235 victims, which included all those which were re-delivered in 1846, and had not been sacrificed."

This campaign and the influence of the officers of the Meriāh Agency appear to have been effectual in making the Khonds keep to their promise, for in 1849 Colonel Campbell reported:— "The entire abolition of the rite of human sacrifice, which so recently prevailed throughout the extensive Māliās of Baud, is a subject of sincere congratulation. Not one drop of blood has been shed this year on the altar of their barbarous superstition, nor was there manifested in any quarter the least disposition to break the pledge of abstinence which they had vowed last year. The whole of these hills have been traversed and the same pleasing results exhibited in every quarter."*

Many of the rescued Meriāhs were sent to the plains, where they settled down; others were given in marriage to their Khond masters. The people were induced to substitute buffaloes for human victims,—a practice followed to this day—and the brewing of rice beer was prohibited, for a libation of this formed part of the religious ceremony, and the Khonds used to drink it and give it to their victims till they were stupified.

The names of Campbell and Macpherson are still remembered by the Khonds, in the mutilated form of Kaibon Sāheb and Mokodella Sāheb. Their deeds are to this day commemorated in a popular song, which says:—" At the time of the great Kaibon Sāheb's coming the country was in darkness; it was enveloped in mist. And how was the country enveloped in mist? There was murder and bloodshed, conflagration of villages, destruction

* Human Sacrifice and Infanticide in the Hill Tracts of Orissa, Selections from the Records of the Government of India, No. V, 1854.

of rice and crops. While they were discussing whether they would live or die, the great Kaibon Sāheb came. All the people fled in terror; the Sāheb said, "Brothers, uncles, fear not; Mālika Kuara come to me." Having sent *paiks* to collect the people of the land, they caught the Meriāh sacrificers; they went and seized the evil councillors. Having seen the chains and shackles, the people were afraid; murder and bloodshed were quelled. Then the land became beautiful; and Mokodella Sāheb came. He destroyed the lairs of the tigers and bears in the hills and rocks, and taught wisdom to the people. After the lapse of a month he built bungalows and schools; and he advised them to learn reading and law. They learnt wisdom and reading; they acquired silver and gold; then all the people became wealthy." *

Throughout these operations the Khondmāls had been nominally subject to the Rājā of Baud, but it had soon been realized that he exercised no real authority over the Khonds. As early as 1837 Mr. Ricketts reported that he had no power over his Khond subjects, and in 1844 Mr. Mills stated that the Khonds had long been at feud with him, paid no revenue, were under no kind of control, and were in the habit of making encroachments on the lands of the Rājā and helping themselves to his cattle and crops, with impunity. "The two influential Khond chieftains, Mādhab Kahanra and Nabaghan Kahanra," he added, "will not recognise the Rājā's authority beyond what is called the Khālsa, or the low land on the river side of the *ghāts*; the Rājā strives, but in vain, to establish it; and it is the existence of this feeling between the chiefs which renders the task we have taken in hand so difficult of achievement in this country." The native officer he sent in 1843 was even more emphatic, as he reported that the Khond chiefs glorified in a turbulent independence and were "a set of rascals who did not mind the orders of the authorities." Annexation of the Khondmāls

Throughout these years the chief proved himself powerless to suppress human sacrifice, and from time to time, when called upon to put a stop to the outrages of bands of dacoits, had pleaded that he had no power to do so. The inability of the chief to exercise any control over this part of the country was further emphasized in 1855, when another rebellion of the Khonds broke out in Gumsur, and Chakra Bisoi, their leader, took refuge in the Khondmāls, finding shelter in the depths of the forests at Dakangi close to Phulbāni. The Rājā was unable to quell the disturbances which ensued, and a British force had to be sent to occupy the country. Order was soon

* J. E. Friend-Pereira, *Some Khond Songs*, J. A. S. B., Part III, 1899.

restored under the direction of Mr. Samuells, the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahāls, who reported that the authority of the Rājā had never been recognized by the Khonds and that the country which the force had occupied was to all intents and purposes independent. It was recognized that while the Rājā remained responsible for the peace and good order of this hilly tract, it would again become an asylum for the outlaws of the surrounding country, and that it was necessary to annex it for the sake of the Khonds themselves and for the protection of British subjects in the neighbouring tracts. Accordingly, on the 15th February 1855, Mr. Samuells issued a proclamation announcing that "whereas the Khonds have ceased for some years to be subject to the Baud Rājā, and the Rājā himself states that he has no power in that country and does not possess it," he had appointed a Tahsīldār to hold charge of the Khondmāls. "In future," he said, "the Khonds shall not obey the orders of the Baud Rājā or any other Rājā. They are now the ryots of the Government, who will ensure them justice and protect them against violence and oppression." The Khondmāls thus passed under the direct rule of the British and were administered by a Tahsīldār, under the control of the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahāls. The first Tahsīldār was Bābu Dīnabandhu Patnaik, who had rendered good service in the previous campaign and was afterwards rewarded by a grant of land near Russellkonda. During the Mutiny this officer raised a corps of *paiks* and *barkandāzes*, which did good work within the disturbed area in the Central Provinces, and was instrumental in saving a party of medical officers, who had lost their way while proceeding without an escort to the Central Provinces.

The subsequent history of the Khondmāls has been uneventful. The presence of troops was necessary for some time after the annexation, until the country had quieted down, but in the sixties they were replaced by civil police drawn from the ranks of the *paiks*. Visiting stations were established at different centres, the chief of which were Khejuriparā and Dākpāl, where the officer in charge spent a few months each year, settling disputes, preventing bloodshed, and generally keeping peace in the subdivision and watching against the recurrence of Meriāh sacrifices. At a later date, when the Khonds had become reconciled to the new order of things, and the country was partly opened up by the construction of roads, Bisiparā was made the headquarters. In 1891 the Khondmāls were formed into a subdivision of the Angul district, and in 1904 the headquarters were transferred to Phulbāni.

CHAPTER III.

THE PEOPLE.

THE first census was taken in 1872, and its result was to disclose a population of 130,184 souls. At the next census of 1881 the population had risen to 160,862; and in 1891 the number of persons enumerated was 170,058, representing an increase of 5·7 per cent. During the next decade the steady growth of population continued, the census of 1901 disclosing a total population of 191,911 persons, or 12·8 per cent. more than in 1891; of the total number 127,697 were enumerated in the Angul subdivision and 64,214 in the Khondmāls. There was a large increase (23·1 per cent.) in the Angul subdivision, which has attracted a great number of settlers from the adjoining States; but in the Khondmāls there was a decrease of 3·2 per cent., which was due to the prevalence of cholera and other diseases, and to short crops in 1896 and 1899, which led to scarcity and stimulated emigration among the Khonds. GROWTH OF POPULATION.

The density of population is less than in any other district in Bengal, the soil supporting only 114 persons per square mile. The reason for this is that the district is still undeveloped, and a large area is composed of hill, jungle and forest. Even in the Angul subdivision, where agriculture is more advanced, many villages are in the midst of dense forest; and in the Khondmāls they are still more scattered, some being almost inaccessible. The Angul subdivision, with 145 persons to the square mile, is the most populous tract, while the Khondmāls are very sparsely peopled, the density of population there being as low as 80 persons to the square mile. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS Density of population.

A striking feature of the census returns is the large proportion of persons enumerated in the district who were born elsewhere, over 11 per cent. of the population consisting of immigrants. The volume of emigration is comparatively small, the number of natives of this district enumerated elsewhere in 1901 being only 6,478, as compared with 21,532 immigrants. The bulk of the latter come from the Tributary States and are nearly all found in the Angul subdivision; but a fair proportion are immigrants from the Madras Presidency, who settle in the Khondmāls. On the whole, Angul receives from the Central Migration

Provinces and the Orissa States more than twice as many persons as it gives in exchange, and it also benefits considerably by immigration from Madras and Cuttack.

Villages. The population is contained in 1,449 villages, of which 453 are in the Angul subdivision and 996 in the Khondmāls. These villages are mainly small scattered clearances, and 61 per cent. contain less than 500 inhabitants. Even Angul, the headquarters of the district, has a population of only 693, and Phulbāni, the headquarters of the Khondmāls, of 475 persons.

Village communities. In the Angul subdivision the primitive system of village administration existed in its entirety until about 50 years ago. Every village was a corporate body with a *pradhān* or chief at its head, and each had its own village servants, such as the barber, washerman, smith, *chhātiā* or watchman, etc., who were the common servants of the whole community. The *pradhān* was *de facto* the fiscal administrator of the village, and made allotments of lands for the village servants; the village watchman used to get a certain annual percentage of the produce from each cultivator, and also had his share of presents at marriages and other festive occasions, during which he also rendered his allotted services. This system is now dying out, and there remain only the village blacksmiths, barbers, washermen, sweepers and public criers (*nāgarchis*): and they exist only in some of the older villages; in the newly established villages Government does not make any allowance for such servants and none therefore exist. The village *chaukīdār* is no longer a servant of the village community, as he feels that he is not bound to perform any service other than that assigned him by the police. The village *pradhān*, who formerly was the spokesman of the people as well as the representative of Government, is now mainly a Government servant. His character as representative of the village community is no longer recognized as fully as it used to be, though it is not yet entirely obliterated, and the villagers grumble when an outsider, or one who by his social status is not fitted to hold that position, is forced upon them as *Sarbarāhkār*. When the *Sarbarāhkār* is not a native of the village, he is now regarded more in the light of a mere tax-gatherer than as a protector and guardian of the village community.

At the same time, many of the features of the village community system are still preserved. In their social and domestic concerns the village *pradhān* is, in the majority of cases, the recognized head and representative of the village community. He still receives from the people a certain percentage upon their rent, out of which he meets the demands common to all. He

pays out of it the expense incurred in entertaining guests, the loss incurred in supplying *rasad*, the cost of religious ceremonies held for the benefit of the whole community, and the expense of *jātrās* and other entertainments held in the village. At the end of each year all the people, with their *Sarbarāhkārs*, sit together and make up the accounts. Every village too still has its *bhāgabatghar*, or place where the sacred books are kept and read every night, and its *kothghar*, where a stranger or Government officials put up. For the maintenance of the former, the villagers contribute in proportion to their rental; if any stranger or acquaintance puts up in the latter, he receives hospitality from the person to whom he is known, and in other cases is entertained by the villagers generally. There is also a goddess in every village in whose honour the villagers annually perform certain ceremonies and make offerings of goats and sheep, the cost of which is met from contributions paid in proportion to their rental.

In the Khondmāls the primitive system of village communities still exists almost intact. The villages are grouped together in divisions, called *muthās*, each village being presided over by a headman, called *mālikā*, over whom again is the headman of each *muthā*, called the *muthā mālikā*. For administrative purposes, there is attached to each *muthā* or group of *muthās* an official, called *sardār*, who is sometimes the *muthā mālikā*, but is not necessarily so. The *sardār* is the intermediary between the village community and Government, as it is his function to communicate the wishes of the former to the Government officials and to convey the orders of the latter to the villagers and see that they are carried out. As remuneration he gets a *tāmbi*, *i.e.*, 1½ seer of rice every year from each landholder. The village headman is assisted in the administration of the village by the *chhātiā* or village watchman, who was originally a functionary of the village community, but is now placed under the police, his services being utilized for administrative purposes.

Oriyā is spoken by 77 per cent. and Khond by 21 per cent. of the people. The standard form of Oriyā current in other parts of Orissa is prevalent, and though the pronunciation and the idioms are different in many respects, the language is substantially the same as that spoken in the districts of the plains. Language.

The great stronghold of Khond, or Kui as it is called by the people themselves, is the Khondmāls, where it is spoken by about 40,000 people, or nearly 84 per cent. of the Khond tribe; but the number of persons using this tribal dialect is decreasing, the decline during the decade ending in 1901 being no less than

14 per cent. It is a Dravidian language akin to Telugu, and is also said to be closely allied to Gondi, the tribal dialect of the Gonds. It is reported, however, that the resemblance to Gondī is not more marked than the resemblance to Telugu. It is probable that the Khonds at some time came into contact with the Gonds, and they may have borrowed some of the Gond words, just as they are now doing with Oriyā words; but words such as house, eye, tree, milk, fish and head are found to be almost exactly the same in Khond as in Telugu. The word *rāhā*, meaning the space in front of a house, *i.e.*, the village street, which is the only kind of road the Khonds knew in former days, appears to be the same as the Urdū or Hindī word *rāh* or *rāstā*, a road. *Muti*, a fist, *mundāni*, shaven or leafless, *sitāli*, an antelope, very closely resemble the Hindī words *mutthī*, *mund* and *chītal*. Khond, it is reported, has probably received accretions from several directions, but is in the main derived from the primitive Telugu, to which it bears a strong grammatical and idiomatic resemblance.* Gondi is also returned by a few persons, but is being abandoned even by the Gonds in favour of Oriyā.

RELIGIONS. At the census of 1901, the number of persons returned as Hindus was 148,799 or 77·5 per cent. of the population, while the number of Animists was 42,710 or 22·3 per cent. There were only 369 Muhammadans and 33 Christians, of whom 24 were natives; and no other religions were represented. Practically the whole population, therefore, is divided among Hindus and Animists, the former of whom predominate in the Angul subdivision, while the latter are nearly all Khonds in the Khondmāls.

Some aspects of Hinduism. The type of Hinduism prevalent is very closely allied to Animism, plentiful traces of the primitive beliefs of the aboriginal tribes being noticeable. As an example of the nature of the popular religion may be mentioned the worship of the Grām Devatī or tutelary village deity, a goddess commonly represented by a piece of shapeless stone, smeared with vermilion and surrounded by several smaller pieces of stone, also vermilion-daubed and shapeless, which represent her children. Her shrine, if such it can be called, is generally under the shade of a tree, but sometimes a hut is built to protect her from rain and sun; occasionally also the trunk of some tree supposed to possess supernatural properties is smeared with vermilion and worshipped as the village goddess. Besides the generic name of Grām Devatī,

* For further details the following works may be consulted—*A Practical Handbook of the Khond Language*, by Major J. McD. Smith (Cuttack, 1876), and *An Introduction to the Grammar of the Kui or Khond Language*, by Lingum Letchmajee (Calcutta, 1902).

each goddess has a separate specific name, which is commonly one of the thousand names of the goddess Kālī. The general idea seems to be that she is like a mischievous old witch; and earthen figures of horses, elephants and other animals are placed before her by the superstitious rustics, as it is believed that she wanders about at night. She is supposed to possess more powers for doing or averting mischief than for doing positive good, and receives special attention on the outbreak of any epidemic disease. Within her own village she is believed not to commit any mischief; and epidemics are supposed to be the work of neighbouring goddesses, whom the tutelary village goddess expels by persuasion or superior force, if she is duly propitiated.

In almost every village there is a priest, through whom the goddess communicates with the people. His services are specially in demand on the occasion of an outbreak of cholera, which is a signal for a rite called Mārjanā or the washing of the goddess, the stone which represents her being smeared with *ghi* and turmeric and painted with vermilion. Before the time appointed for the Mārjanā, he takes a purifying bath, puts on a new cloth, and paints his forehead with vermilion. Then holding two canes in his hands, he appears before the Grām Devatī, and with dishevelled hair swings his body to and fro. After a time he begins to tremble, and in the course of his confused mutterings gives out some secrets of the village to win the confidence of the people. He then predicts evil to some and good to others, prescribing at the same time the remedies required, which take the shape of offerings to the goddess and special favours to himself.*

Tank worship. A curious feature of the religious observances of the people in Angul is the worship of miniature tanks, especially by means of ceremonies known as Jimūtabāhan and Nāgal Chaturthī. Jīmūtabāhan takes place on the 8th day of the dark half of the month of Aswin, the day of the birth of Dwitibāman or Jīmūtabāhan, the offspring of the sun. Its object, when performed by barren women, is to obtain children, and, when performed by others, to secure longevity for their offspring. Failure to perform it brings still-born children, death of offspring, and widowhood. It is only performed by married women. It is customary for the worshippers to perform a preliminary ceremony after bathing on the previous day, when the female kite and female jackal are worshipped at the *ghāt*, and food is only taken once. On the day of the *brata* itself they fast all day and go in the evening to the tank, which is made at cross

* Bābu Jāminī Mohan Dās, *The Grām Devatī or Tutelary Village Deity of Orissa*, J. A. S. B., Part III, 1903.

roads. Above the tank is a bamboo roof covered with new cloth and hung with garlands. A coconut and a *tulsi* plant are placed in the tank, a bundle of sugarcane is put at its side, and 21 kinds of edible fruits, and flowers, collected by each worshipper, are arranged in baskets round it. The ceremony is performed sometimes by a Brāhman widow and sometimes by one of the worshippers with rice, milk, turmeric and flowers, and the story of Dwitibāman is recited. The fruit is then taken home. Part is given to the neighbours, and the rest is cooked, and, after a portion has been offered to Dwitibāman, the female kite and the female jackal, it is eaten by the worshippers and their relatives.

When the Nāgal Chaturthī is observed, a miniature tank is made at the foot of the household *tulsi* plant on the fourth day of the light fortnight of Kārtik. It is filled with milk, water, aquatic plants, and plantain shoots, while sugarcane and paddy are planted on its banks. Figures of the snake godlings, Nāg and Nāginī, made of rice paste, are placed beside it, near a piece of earth taken from an ant-hill, their favourite haunt. They are worshipped with rice, milk, sugar and flowers, usually by girls and women, though men occasionally join them. The observance of this Nāgal Chaturthī is connected with a Paurānic story about a woman who recovered her eyesight by worshipping Nāg and Nāginī. The worshippers apply some of the milk and water, with which the tank is filled, to their eyes, with the object of securing themselves against eye diseases of various kinds.*

Animism. The Animists are represented by the Khonds, who recognize two principal gods—Tānā Penu and Saru Penu. Saru Penu is the god of the hills, a jealous god who does not like people to trespass on his domain. The chief object of the worship of this deity is to induce him to protect from fever and the attacks of wild animals those people whose business takes them among the jungle-clad hills, and also to secure a full yield of the jungle products, which the Khonds use so largely for food. Travellers propitiate him by placing a handful of any edibles they may be carrying at wayside shrines. The priests of Saru Penu are called Dehuri, and the appropriate offerings, which are afterwards eaten, are a goat and a fowl with rice and strong drink. Tānā Penu is the earth-goddess. She is believed to be very vindictive and to vent her anger upon those who neglect her worship, afflicting them with various diseases, making their land unfruitful, causing drought or destroying their crops, and allowing them to be devoured by tigers and leopards. In order to avoid these evils,

* A. N. Moberly, *Miniature Tank Worship in Bengal*, J. A. S. B., December, 1906.

the Khonds offer pigs and goats to the goddess every year, and a buffalo at irregular intervals, when they think she requires a special sacrifice. Her priests are called Gurus, and the man who actually sacrifices the buffalo is known as Jāni. The owner of the land on which the sacrifices are performed is called Jākeri. He arranges all the preliminaries and sits beside the priests, and repeats the prayers, while handing over the offerings to them. The Jākeri conducts the worship of Jākeri Penu without the aid of any priest. These offices are all hereditary and are usually filled by Khonds, but Kumhārs are sometimes accepted as Gurus. Most Gurus have the power of throwing themselves or feigning to throw themselves into a hypnotic trance, and are supposed to be able to cure diseases by touching people, tying them up with bits of thread, and similar mummery. A profession is made of this by another class of Gurus, including Pān Gurus, who do not perform any priestly functions. They are also called Guniās.

The Khonds recognize a deity called Dharma Penu, apparently a personification of the sun, whom they regard as the supreme god and creator of the universe. They also worship a host of minor gods, godlings and demons, all of whom are of the purely animistic type. Some are nature godlings, such as the godling of the forest (Gosā Penu) and of the stream (Jori Penu). Others are village demons, such as the tutelary demon of the village (Grām Seni), the demon of the refuse heap (Turki Penu) and the demon of the dung-hill (Goberi Penu). A third class are the spirits of dead ancestors, relations, and friends, such as the spirits of the members of the Bhanj royal house (Bhanjeni), of the old Sudha militia officers (Sudheni), of the chiefs and headmen, and of the family ancestors, going back step by step to the founder of the stock, and finally the totem. A fourth class are the tutelary deities of communes or groups of stocks, such as Panthi Durgā Mā, the tutelary deity of the Chota Pāju commune.*

The Khonds have a strong belief in witchcraft, particularly in that exercise of the art which enables witches to transform themselves into tigers, leopards, wolves, etc., and in this shape to attack human beings or their cattle. For the detection of such persons there are several ordeals. In the ordeal by iron a bar of iron is put into the blacksmith's furnace, and the Guru works the bellows. If no one in particular is suspected, the names of the villagers are called out one after the other, and the person at whose name the iron melts is held to be the guilty one. If suspicion has fallen on some one, and it is desired simply to test his guilt, Witchcraft.

* J. E. Friend-Pereira, *Totemism among the Khonds*, J. A. S. B., Part III 1904.

a fowl is taken, and its legs are plunged into boiling water and rapidly withdrawn. If the skin peels off, the suspected person is held to be guilty, and he is turned out of the village unless he chooses to undergo the ordeal by fire. For this purpose, a trench is cut, seven cubits long and one cubit broad, and filled with burning embers. The legs of the accused are then smeared with *ghi*, and he is made to walk twice through the trench lengthwise. If the *ghi* catches fire and he is burned, it is a proof of his guilt.*

TRIBES AND CASTES. There are only three tribes or castes with a strength of over 25,000, viz., the Khonds, Chasās and Pāns.

Khonds. The Khonds number 47,807, of whom 40,051 are found in the Khondmāls and 7,756 in the Angul subdivision. Originally a powerful tribe, they have been driven back into the rocky fastnesses of these hills, where alone they survive as a separate race. They are described as a wild, warlike, meat-eating, hard-drinking race of very dark complexion; they bear no resemblance to the inhabitants of the plains, and their language, Kui, differs from that of other aboriginal tribes. As a rule, they are active, wiry and agile, but the present representatives of the race show signs of degeneration; for whereas they drink as much as formerly, their old pursuits of war and the chase, which kept them hardy, are cut off from them, the one by Government, the other by the scarcity of game. Every man still carries, however, an axe, and the greater number bows and arrows also. The Khonds are but imperfectly acquainted with the value of cleanliness, and are excessively fond of liquor and tobacco; the flower of the *mahuā* tree affords them a very strong spirit, of which they drink deeply, as well as of the fermented juice of the palm. The clothes of both men and women consist merely of a few yards of coarse cotton cloth bound round the loins, ornamented with a separate piece striped with red, which dangles down behind like a tail. Their thick black hair is wound round and round their heads, and is fastened in front by a knot, over which is tied a strip of cloth; in this they keep cigars and other odds and ends. The Khond women are not beautiful, rather the reverse; and any attractions they may have are not heightened by their habit of tattooing their faces and smearing themselves with turmeric.

The system of government of the Khonds is patriarchal; each head of a family manages the family affairs, and village matters are arranged in the village councils. If the tribe wishes to act as a whole, tribal councils are called; in these councils the opinions of the elders carry the day. The Khonds claim

* H. H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1891.

indefeasible rights in the soil, and their lands are held on the community system; this leads to many disputes, which the councils settle as a rule. To every important village is attached a colony of Pāns and other semi-Hinduised races, who gain their livelihood as artisans, potters, weavers, oilmen or labourers. The existence of such colonies is due to the fact that the Khond looks upon himself as above such a degrading occupation as trade; he regards himself as a warrior and a zamīndār. In their later development under British rule, the most interesting feature is the way they are becoming Hinduised, and adopting the manners and customs of the plains. A fuller account of this interesting race will be found in the next chapter.

Chasās. The Chasās are almost entirely confined to the Angul subdivision, where they number 40,337, only 255 being found in the Khondmāls. They are *par excellence* the cultivators of the district, almost all of them holding land; and they constitute the well-to-do peasantry of the villages, inhabiting the valleys and engrossing the culturable land. Cultivation is, in fact, their hereditary occupation. One subdivision, the Orh Chasās, was, it is said, the first of the aboriginal tribes who settled in Orissa and began to cultivate the soil; and they claim that the country was named after them. Another sub-caste is known as Benātiyā, and is said to have been created from a tuft of *benā* grass or to be descended from those who first made the land fit for cultivation by clearing away the *benā* grass.

Kaltuyās. The Kaltuyās or Kolthās are said to be another sub-caste of the Chasās, but it seems more probable that they are a separate caste, as they will not associate or intermarry with other Chasā groups. They have a tradition that they originally emigrated from Mithilā, but they have no written records, and the fact that they have totemistic septs militates against the theory of an Aryan origin; these septs are Nāgesh, Pīpal, Ganesh, Hasti and Kachhap. The animal, etc., after which the sept is named is held sacred, and a man of the Nāgesh clan would never kill a snake, nor would one of the Pīpal clan cut down a *pīpal* tree.

Pāns. The Pāns are a low caste of aboriginal descent, numbering 28,481. The caste is subdivided into six sub-castes, viz., Bunā, Gandā, Patrā, Sonai, Sāmal and Jenā. Each claims to rank higher than the others; they do not intermarry, and members of one sub-caste will not eat with members of another. The first two weave coarse cloth; Patrās make brooms and ropes; and the last three work as grooms and drummers: some are even *pālki*-bearers in Calcutta. The Pāns claim to be Hindus, but are considered one of the most degraded castes in the Garhjāts, ranking even

lower than the Doms. They eat dead cows, buffaloes and goats and are practically regarded as unclean pariahs. No one will touch a Pān, receive anything from his hand, or place a foot on his threshold. A Hindu of good caste will plaster his floor and throw away all his cooked food, drinking-water and earthen vessels, if a Pān enters his house. According to their own belief, they suffer from a curse uttered by Krishna, viz., *Se hoiba dhanurdhara, bramhāndara bhitare hoiba bara chora*, *i.e.*, "a mighty archer he will be, in the world the greatest thief, and of all the thieves the chief." They say that in former times, when there was any fighting between two chiefs, they always marched in front of the *paik* militia and commenced the attack on the opposing force; and being often employed to make depredations and raids on neighbouring tribes, they became habituated to theft. Even at the present day when they make predatory incursions into other States, they are surprised when they are captured, as they consider that it is not unlawful for them to commit crime beyond the limits of their own country. They do not hesitate to say they are thieves and the sons of thieves; and a youth cannot procure a wife, unless he can prove he is skilled in house-breaking.

In the Khondmāls, the Pāns were the serfs of the Khonds. They worked on their farms and wove cloth for them, in return for which they obtained a small area of land, grain for food, and all their marriage expenses; they used also to procure victims for the Meriāh sacrifices. Their serfdom was so well recognized that if a Pān left his master and worked for another, it caused serious dissensions among the Khond community. To this day there is a settlement of Pāns—a kind of Ghetto—attached to every large Khond village, where they weave the cloth the Khonds require and work as farm-labourers. In 1899-1900 when there was a failure of crops and the Khonds were not able to support the Pāns, they turned them adrift; but as they were not accustomed to hard labour, they would not go to the relief works until they were forced, and in the following year some of them took to highway robbery and dacoity, making themselves a terror to the people.

Most of the *chaukidārs* in this district and in the Garhjāts are Pāns. As they are by birth and breeding thieves, this seems an unsuitable employment, but it is difficult to see what other caste could replace them. No one of good caste in the Garhjāts will enter a Pān hamlet for fear of pollution or venture to tackle a Pān; and considering all things, they have on the whole done very well. Comparatively few have been found to take part in crime; they obtain clues, bring to light offences, recover stolen property, chase

dacoits, surround them in the jungle, and capture them. They will give evidence against their nearest relatives without hesitation, and will even give up a brother who has committed a murder and quietly claim the reward. Cartmen prefer to employ Pāns to guard their goods, because there is "honour among thieves," and they will not steal from each other. They are also employed as postal runners, carrying the mail through dense forest and along unsafe roads, and no case has been known of its being stolen.

The name Pān is believed to be derived from Pundrika, an oppressor, which is corrupted to Paunika, Pānika and Pān. Another theory is that it is derived from *pauna*, wealth, or *pananta*, the corner of a cloth; *pananta-kata* meaning a thief who cuts off the corner of a cloth which serves as a purse, and being abbreviated to Pauna and Pān.

The Gauras, who number 12,860, are the pastoral caste of the district, corresponding to the Goālās in Bengal and Bihār. They nearly all possess cattle and are chiefly engaged in breeding cows and selling milk, curds and *ghi*. They also work as cultivators and as agricultural labourers. Gauras.

The Taulās are a caste of weavers, numbering 5,496, the name being derived from *tulā* (cotton). They are a low caste, many of whom have now forsaken their hereditary occupation and support themselves by cultivation or labour. Taulās.

The Sudhas or Suds, who have a strength of 5,112, are a tribe with traditions of having formerly been the dominant power in Baud, with whose chief they still claim relationship. Though now cultivators, they believe that they were formerly soldiers and adore guns in consequence. They worship the *bakul* tree and will on no account fell it. They practise infant marriage; should a girl be about to attain puberty and no suitable bridegroom be forthcoming, she undergoes a mock marriage to an arrow and can then remain single without blame until a suitor appears. One of their chief deities is a goddess called Khambeswarī, who is worshipped every year in the month of Bhādra with sacrifices of goats. The goddess is represented by a wooden peg (*khamba*) fixed in the ground, and Brāhmans take no part in her worship, which is conducted by a Dehuri or tribal priest, supposed to be specially acquainted with the ways of the local gods. Sudhas.

The Hāris, who number 4,036, are the sweeper caste, a degraded class having no idea of the great gods of Hinduism, but worshipping deities called Hingulā, Mangalā and Pītābali. Like the Pāns, they sell the hides of dead cattle. Hāris.

The higher castes have very few representatives, there being only 3,630 Brāhmans, 1,137 Karans, the writer caste of Orissa, Other castes.

3,497 Khattris and 1,153 Khandaits; the members of the latter castes are mostly engaged in cultivation. Among the lower castes may be mentioned Bhandāris or barbers (1,264), Dhobās or washermen (2,430), Guriās (1,317), who work as confectioners and traders, Kāmārs or blacksmiths (1,692), Kewats or fishermen (2,626), Khairās (3,952), who prepare *khair* or catechu and also cultivate the land, Kumhārs or potters (2,671), Sunris or Sundis (2,745), a well-to-do class, who, by manufacturing and selling wine, have acquired land and property, and Telis (3,094), the oilmen of the district, who also engage in trade. Among purely aboriginal tribes may be mentioned the Gonds and Oraons, who number 1,870 and 1,182 respectively, and the Nahurās.

There are also a few small castes peculiar to this district and the adjoining States, such as Ghantrās, Girgiriās, Godrās and Lodhās. Ghantrā is the name of a small caste of workers in brass and iron, who are said to have migrated to Angul during a famine. Their favourite deity is Kālī, represented by an iron rod, to whom they make offerings of fowls, goats, rice and milk. Once a year, during the Kālī *Pujā*, they worship a lump of charcoal as the emblem of their craft. Girgiriās are a caste of fishermen, and the Godrās a small caste of basket makers. The Lodhās or Nodhs belong to an aboriginal tribe having its headquarters in the Central Provinces, who obtain their living by collecting jungle produce, such as cocoons, lac, resin, honey and wax.

MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

The conditions of this district approximate far more closely to those of the Tributary States by which it is surrounded than to those of the other districts of Orissa. The population consists almost entirely of cultivators and labourers; and there are practically no middle-class families (*bhadra lok*) and only a few skilled artisans, mainly men brought from Cuttack for work on Government buildings. There are no carpenters, every cultivator being his own carpenter, while the village blacksmith seldom knows how to make anything but a plough-share, though a few in the Khondmāls can make axes, which are the almost inseparable companion of the cultivator and cooly. As a class, the peasants of Angul are industrious cultivators, but the generality of them are improvident and far from thrifty. Here, as elsewhere, grain is borrowed to meet the cost of agricultural operations, and is mostly paid off at the time of harvest, but the debts incurred to meet the cost of social ceremonies run on from year to year. Generally speaking, however, the ryots of Angul are not heavily in debt, except the *Sarbarāhkārs*, who have fallen into the clutches of Mārwāri money-lenders, and cannot easily extricate themselves. A large proportion of the labouring classes hold

small plots of land, but their connection with land is generally nominal, and they subsist chiefly by labour. When the season is favourable, the whole body of labourers find employment in the fields, so that in the cultivating or reaping season it is difficult to get a cooly.

On the whole, it is reported, the cultivators both in Angul and the Khondmāls may be regarded as prosperous and fairly comfortable ; but the labouring classes are scantily clad, meagrely fed, and of poor physique. At the same time, it must be remembered that their needs are very few, and they are not entirely dependent on the produce of the fields for their food-supply. This is particularly the case in the Khondmāls, where the Khonds and Pāns, in the best seasons, live almost entirely on jungle products, such as herbs, roots and fruit, for at least three months in the year. This dietary is not restricted to those who have no other food, but prevails even among men who have several hundred rupees worth of grain stored in their houses ; half a *tāmbi*, *i.e.*, ¼ seer of rice, mixed with herbs (*sāg*) and other jungle products, furnishes a meal for two or three persons, and this is the meal indulged in for three or four months in the year even by persons who are well off. At other times also jungle products form no unimportant part of the food of the people. In fact, they are used more or less throughout the year, but while the produce of the fields is largely depended upon from September to March, mixed with a small proportion of jungle products, the reverse is the case during the remaining months of the year, when the latter are largely consumed with a small mixture of the produce of the fields. The Khonds, moreover, supplement their food with game, especially different species of deer ; many birds are caught for food, and rats and mice are considered delicious. No part of an animal is wasted, and when a *sāmbar* rewards the sportsman's skill, even the intestines and skin are eaten, nothing being left but horns, hoofs and bones. So long as the Khonds have anything to eat, they do not work. For about four months in the year, viz., from January to April, they pass their time in singing, dancing and drinking ; and when their stores of food-grains run short, they go into the jungle in search of game and natural products. They are a thriftless class, content if they have enough for their present requirements, with but little or no thought for the future. This thriftlessness is probably due to the ease with which they can satisfy their wants, which are indeed few ; they are accustomed to live on natural products, and they know that they are easily obtainable if their labour fails.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KHONDS.

THE KHOND COUNTRY.

THE country of the Khonds may be described as the region in which the main ridge of the Eastern Ghāts, in its extension northwards, terminates on the edge of the valley of the Mahānadī, and turning due east widens out into a large elevated plateau that slopes down to the plains of Ganjām on the south-east, and more abruptly to the valley of the Mahānadī in the Baud State on the north. Geographically this Khond country is not homogeneous. The western part of the Khondmāls, which is the most lofty portion of the plateau, is intersected in all directions by the numerous lateral ramifications of the Ghāts which break up the surface of the country into small depressions of comparatively small fertility. The eastern half of the Khondmāls contain larger and more open and fertile valleys. The ethnographical features of this Khond country are in keeping with its geographical variations. The western portion of the Khondmāls are inhabited by the wilder and more primitive septs, who, with the exception of a few headmen, speak no language but their own mother tongue, who still eat the flesh of the pig and drink strong liquor, and whose women still go about with only a piece of cloth round the loins, leaving the breast uncovered. In the eastern half of the Khondmāls almost all the men and women speak Oriyā; the people have more or less eschewed the flesh of the pig, and the women dress like the ordinary Oriyā women of the country.*

NOMENCLATURE.

The name Khond, or Kandh, as it should more properly be written, is believed to be derived from the Tamil word *Kundri* (Telugu *Kondā*), *i.e.*, a small hill, and to mean simply a hill-man. The country in which the Khonds reside is called the Khondmāls, *māl* in Oriyā signifying a hilly tract; and in the same way the northern portion of the Ganjām district adjoining the Khondmāls is called the Khond Māliās, *i.e.*, the Khond hills or

This Chapter has been prepared almost entirely from notes communicated by Mr. A. J. Ollenbach, Subdivisional Officer of the Khondmāls.

* J. E. Friend-Pereira, *Totemism among the Khonds*, J. A. S. B. Part III, 904.

simply the hills, as distinguished from the rest of the district which is spoken of as the plains. The Khonds, however, always speak of themselves as *Kui loku, i.e.*, the Kui people, and of their language as the *Kui kātā* or Kui language; the name Khond being given to them and their language by foreigners. *Kui* is a Khond word meaning above or aloft; the tribal name therefore means the lofty or lordly people—the superior race or the masters of the high country.

The Khonds have a great many family titles suffixed to their names, of which the most common are Mālikā, Kahanra, Padhān, Majhi, Nāika and Ghatāl; besides these, the names Jhānkar from Jakeri, Jāni, Dehuri and Bāhāuk are applied to those who perform priestly functions or assist at sacrifices. Mālikā, Kahanra, Jhānkar, and Jāni are purely Khond titles, and the rest appear to have been borrowed from outsiders; Padhān is a common title of the Sundis, while Majhi, Nāika and Dehuri are found in the Sudha caste, and Bāhāuk among the Kewats. The majority of the people bear the names of Mālikā and Kahanra; the former, which means head or chief. is supposed to be the title of the older settlers, while Kahanra is said to be a corruption of Kagāri, meaning in Khond small or inferior. In one part of the subdivision the people call themselves Jimdārs, a title said to have been conferred upon their ancestors by the Rajā of Baud. Jimdār is a corruption of zamīndār, which in these parts means simply a cultivator. The cultivators being a respectable class of people, it was thought the new name would put the Khonds on an equality with the Oriyās and ensure better treatment for them at the hands of the foreigners, who have selected the name Sitha, meaning respectable, for themselves.

ORIGIN OF THE TRIBE. No reliable information regarding the origin of the tribe is available. Some say that they came from the Central Provinces, others state that they were driven back from the plains of the Ganjām district, and so account for the similarity between their language and Telegu. According to Mr. Friend-Pereira, there is a vague tradition that they were driven away by a stronger race from the tract that constitutes the modern Gayā district, and gradually found their way through Chotā Nagpur and the Gondwāna to the hills that form their present home.* The old men of the tribe relate a story that they formerly lived at a place called Srāmbuli Dimbuli adjoining a high range of hills named Derhsaru somewhere in Ganjām or the Central Provinces. Pushed

* J. E. Friend-Pereira, *Some Khond Songs*, J. A. S. B., Part III, 1899.

back from the fertile lands below, they at last summoned up courage to climb the hills, which had hitherto appeared to them to be the end of the world, and saw before them far away in the distance a large tract of apparently uninhabited jungle country, which they were not slow in making up their minds to occupy. They promptly scaled the hills, and driving before them the less warlike inhabitants of the country, took possession of the Khondmāls and the surrounding tracts It is evident that they migrated in large numbers, for they very soon completely ousted the former occupants, who now exist in scattered hamlets in Daspallā and other neighbouring States, while not one is to be seen within the Khondmāls, the stronghold of the Khonds. These people, who are known as the Kurmus, are a scattered race given to cultivation and other peaceful employments, and some say that it was from them that the Khonds learnt to till the soil. One story has it that the Kurmus gave up their holdings peaceably to the Khonds and disappeared from the country by ascending into the clouds. They are remembered with feelings of gratitude and reverence by the Khonds, who claim them as elder brothers, calling them the first-born, and themselves the youngest-born of Jamo Penu, the creator, and invoke their blessing at the annual sacrifices. The Kurmus are known to have smoked tobacco or hemp out of small earthen hookahs and to have used steel axes like the Khonds: these axes are sometimes turned up by the plough at old village sites.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION. The Khonds are divided into a number of exogamous divisions or septs, (Khond *klāmbu*) the members of which claim descent from a common ancestor and now occupy distinct localities. Each of these local divisions is called a *muthā*, and has a separate name and a separate head. In some cases the members of one sept have spread themselves over two or more *muthās* and intermarriage is prohibited within the whole group, though in other respects the people consider themselves to be quite distinct from one another. On the other hand, people of different families who happen to settle in different villages within the same *muthā* freely intermarry with their neighbours. One such *muthā* (Argirkia) containing 12 different families is to be found in the Khondmāls; and groups of as many as 18 and 11 *muthās* occupied by a single family are known, *e.g.*, the Athara Muthā Khonds of Ganjām and the Egāra Muthā Khonds of the Khondmāls. The whole subdivision is now well divided among the different families, each of which knows and keeps within its boundaries, encroachment being promptly brought to the notice of the Courts. The Khonds do not usually speak of their *muthā* but of their *klāmbu*, *gassi* or *gassi-biddā* (literally a sheaf of relations, *i.e.*,

their lineage), which is an abbreviated form of the name of the founder of the sept. The word *gāndo* (body) suffixed to the founder's name gives the full name of the sept and *muthā Mendi* is another suffix, meaning a ram, which has been applied in ridicule to those Khonds who fled, in a battle with the Hadgarh people, with their arms shouldered, like the horns of a ram, which are curved backwards.

There are also three functional groups—the Kumhārs or potters, (Kumārengā), the Lohārs or blacksmiths (Tezināru) and the Gauras or cowherds (Gātiāngā), who, though Khonds by descent, are held to have sunk in the social scale for having, whether from choice or from necessity, departed from the Khonds' hereditary occupations of cultivation and hunting, every other kind of employment being considered menial. Among these three groups, the Kumhār has the highest position, for he is permitted to join in the village feasts, while the other two are debarred from all intercourse whatever, though they are not considered unclean like the Pāns and Hāris (Domengā and Gāhengā). The latter are debarred from drawing water from the village well, and must live apart in a settlement of their own at a little distance from the village. This is not the case in the Ganjām Māliās, where the Pāns and Khonds live side by side. In a great part of the Khondmāls, moreover, the Pān's presence or touch is not considered polluting; and he may enter a house or touch a Khond without giving offence.

Among the Khonds themselves there are no prohibitions regarding social intercourse and eating and drinking together, but, as a result of their intercourse with non-Khonds, a gradual change is now observable in the abandonment of certain old customs and the acquisition of new ones quite foreign to the tribe. In the eastern localities, where there has been a large influx of foreigners, the Khonds abstain from beef and pork, wear imported cloths discarding coarse home-made stuffs, crop their hair, and, in addition to their Khond oaths, swear on and read the *Haribansa Pothi* or Hindu religious books; while the women have given up tattooing their faces and abstain from liquor. These are the people who call themselves Jimdārs. Many of them have forgotten their language and others make a pretence of not knowing it. Oriyā has, in fact, ousted Khond as their domestic language. They have formed themselves into a caste, and look with great aversion on the Pāns and Hāris, going so far as to say that their touch and shadow are contaminating. They are now known to their more barbarous kinsmen as Sāsi Khonds (Sāsi from *sālbā*, to go or depart, meaning foreigner), or Bagrā

(mixed), while those who still observe their ancestral customs are called Ariā Khonds. Intercourse with these aborigines has similarly left its mark upon the Oriyā settlers, for buffaloes are freely offered and slain at their annual sacrifices; wild pigs are caught and reared for their marriage feasts, and *sāmbar* and fowls are eaten without loss of caste. The Baud Khonds seek their wives only from among the Sāssi Khonds and not from the Ariās, with whom they have ceased to have any social intercourse. The Sāssis of the Khondmāls prefer to get wives from Sāssi families, but do not go so far as to deny hospitality to their Ariā brethren.

Marriage with any of the functional groups is forbidden, and intercourse with them is looked upon as discreditable, although it does not entail excommunication from the tribe. All the members of the tribe are considered equal, and one sept is as good as another. Their pride forbids them acknowledging a better or having any intercourse with an inferior, with the result that no section considers itself too good to take a wife from another or imagines it an act of condescension to give a girl in return. Marriages with outsiders are never heard of, though there have been cases of members of the tribe consenting to live with foreigners. Any intercourse with members of an unclean caste entails perpetual excommunication, but if any one desires to live with a member of a clean caste, his choice is tacitly consented to. A Khond, however, prefers a Khond wife, as he does not care about a woman who cannot understand his feelings and scoffs at his religion. Within each sept or *muthā* the ancient patriarchal form of government still flourishes with great vigour. The head of each group is the old *ābā* (father)—the *muthā mālikā* or *kahanra* as he is called. Every village has, in the same way, its own *ābā* or headman. The offices are hereditary and contingent on the good behaviour and fitness of the holders. Children are completely under the sway of their parents and do not separate during their lifetime; but all of them, with their wives and children, form a single family under the control of the grandfather. The people of the village, and even foreign settlers, are called father or mother or brother and sister, according to the relationship in which they stand to one another. Disputes are referred to a council of elders; this council is appealed to by all classes, and its decisions are very rarely disputed.

VILLAGE-ORGANISATION. The Khonds hold their land direct from Government; they own no other landlord and claim permanent rights in the soil. They themselves, however, attain the position of petty landlords

by the grant of a portion of their land to outsiders or to their poorer relatives. Under-tenants are never supposed to acquire any permanent right of occupancy in their holdings, and are expected to acknowledge the claims of their landlords by the yearly gift (*muthā*=rent) of some rice, a kid and some liquor; their tenure depends solely on the good will and prosperity of their landlords, and they may be ejected simply by being told to leave. They cannot alienate their land nor are they ever permitted to sacrifice to the earth-goddess upon their holdings, a rite indicating permanent ownership, which no one but the owner of the land may perform. Produce rents are sometimes demanded, one-third or a half of the yield being the usual quantity given. The custom is still in its infancy, though the Khonds have much land that they could profitably lay out in this way. Some of them owning extensive holdings throw open the high lands to their landless brethren, neither seeking nor getting any *muthā* from them.

Claims for ejectment are very rarely made against old settlers, and are upheld by the Courts only when an unauthorized transfer has been proved or there has been deliberate waste and damage. No sale of land is valid or final until the purchaser has given the seller a small feast called *nāni-pāji*, (literally, a pig and the fire with which to roast it), and a small present to the seller's wife. The latter is called *dekeli-pāji*, *dekeli* meaning a clod of earth, which it is the women's duty to break up in the ploughed fields. A good deal of land has been given away to a body of Oriyās known as Paiks, some of whom came into the country with military adventurers and were welcomed by the Khonds, as it was thought they would make good leaders in battle, while others accompanied the agents of the Rājā or of Government. They are now employed as messengers and on other miscellaneous and quasi-police duties, and recognize the Khonds' ownership over the land by an occasional gift or by entertaining them when they visit the villages in which they reside. The people voluntarily contribute to a fund for the construction of roads and other works of public utility by the payment of 3 annas for every plough owned by them; under-tenants being expected to pay for their own ploughs just as if they were the owners of their holdings. The Khonds have agreed to excise shops being opened at their villages in place of private distillation or brewing, with the object of putting a stop to drunkenness and utilizing the revenue so obtained for educational purposes. Government asks them for nothing besides what they offer of their own choice, and spends what it gets from them in accordance with their wishes.

Labourers are retained either by the day or for the season or for a certain number of years. Day labourers are paid in kind, and the others are paid in cash at the end of their term of service. Debtors often pay off their debts by sending a son or a younger brother to work in their creditor's house without wages, but in any case the labourer must be fed and clothed. For the payment of the village *chaukīdār* a collection *(bartan kandh buli)* of paddy, calculated on the extent of each man's cultivation, is made annually, and the boatman in charge of a ferry and the cowherd and blacksmith are remunerated in the same way. A collection is also made for the *muthā sardār*, who communicates the wishes of the people to the representatives of Government and conveys its orders to them. Every *muthā* has a *sardār*, except those which form a single group and are inhabited by the members of one family. There is only one *sardār* for each of the communities. He is personally responsible to Government for the plough contribution, but if after one enumeration of the ploughs, a new cultivator happens to settle in the *muthā*, he may collect the contribution from him and take it as a perquisite till the next enumeration takes place 3 years after. Another subscription of a pice or two and some rice from every separate family is made for the *sardār* at the time the plough contribution is collected. He also receives other perquisites on the occasion of a widow's marriage or on the death of a man without heirs. The *muthā mālikā* is remunerated by the grant of a field called *sāri khet*.

With regard to the ownership of land, the joint community system prevails amongst the Khonds. The members of each family and, on a larger scale, the people of each village and *muthā* own their land jointly, individual possession being permitted for the sake of convenience. Outsiders cannot acquire land to the exclusion of the members of the sept, such acquisitions amounting to an admission of blood-relationship, which an alien cannot claim; he is looked upon as an interloper. Claims to land and even trees are never surrendered and are recognized even after years of absence or abandonment. Women belonging to other septs cannot hold land according to Khond law, and can only claim maintenance. Daughters, being likely to get married and to leave the sept, are also debarred from acquiring any rights in the soil.

SUCCESSION. During the life-time of a father, all his land is cultivated for him by his sons. He sometimes makes a division himself in order to prevent quarrels, or else after his death the land is divided equally among all his sons by the village tribunal. A minor

brother's share is cultivated by all the adult brothers jointly, or if the boy is in special charge of one of them, by him alone. He must also support the widow and sisters, and pay all the marriage expenses of the latter. When the minor comes of age, he begins to cultivate his own land, and lives with his mother and sisters until he is married. If the land is cultivated jointly by the brothers, they must bear the expenses of the family in equal shares. In most cases, however, the holding, with all its obligations, passes to the uncle, who is thenceforth looked up to as the head of the family and controls all its affairs. When a man dies without male issue, his land passes to his nearest male relations, and is divided equally amongst them. They must support the widow and daughters, and get the latter married when they grow up. Grazing land, forest land and service tenures are always kept in the joint possession of all the villagers.

Adoption is often practised when a man thinks he is likely to die without an heir. It involves the adoption of all the privileges and responsibilities of the new sept just as if the man were born in it, and the same restrictions with regard to marriage, as in the case of a blood relation. If a man has a daughter, he arranges to have her married, invites his son-in-law to live with him, and, in some cases, leaves his property to them. This practice, though contrary to the Khonds' law of inheritance, whereby the property in default of male issue reverts to the brothers, is somteimes permitted. Adoptive brotherhood and sisterhood are also practised two young men or two girls agreeing to become *maitras* (Khond *tore*) or comrades. The compact is sealed by the gift of a rupee and the purchase of some liquor by the richer of the two, or by the one who proposes it; after this, they stand by each other through thick and thin. The exchange of sons and daughters is frequently arranged between two families. Marriage is but the purchase of a bride; so to save expense and trouble, parents often agree to exchange their children. Even well-to-do families are known to dispense with the bride price, but in any case the contract cannot be ratified until at least one head of cattle is paid. This is called the *tlān gāti*, literally head item or price, *i.e.*, the price paid for the life purchased, an expression that reminds one of the old practice of purchasing human victims (*Meriāhs*) for sacrifice to the earth-goddess. ADOPTION.

Marriage with a blood relation is never permitted, no matter how distantly connected the parties may be. The prohibition extends not only to the individual, but to his whole family and sept. A man can marry neither within his own sept nor within MARRIAGE.

that to which his mother or paternal grandmother belong, but marriage within the maternal grandmother's sept, though not in her particular family, is allowed. In the case of some of the more distant degrees of relationship, intermarriage is permitted only after five generations.

Marriages are always adult. The girl is generally a few years older than the boy, a good strong one being selected, who will be able to perform all the household duties in addition to looking after the children. The preliminary arrangements consist of the selection of a bride unknown to her parents, the exchange of visits by the two families, and the payment of a small portion of the bridal price. The boy's parents set up a pot of rice to boil, naming at the same time the girl they have selected. If the rice overflows in seething, the choice is abandoned. A wild animal or a snake seen on the way to the prospective bride's house means ill fortune to the match; and so does the lowing of cattle when the bride arrives at her husband's house. Consequently, she is usually brought to the village after dusk. The boy and the girl live at their respective homes until the whole of the bride money has been paid up in small instalments. The marriage ceremony is then performed, and the girl is brought to her father-in-law's house and begins to live with her husband.

The young man often makes a selection for himself with his father's consent, and after gaining a promise from the girl, makes the necessary arrangements either by himself or through his relatives. Much naturally depends upon the good will of the girl's parents, but there is undoubtedly a season of courtship, during which the young man tries to win the favour of the girl and her relatives. Youths and maidens are allowed to mix freely in a friendly way, the former making visits to the surrounding villages in order to enjoy a holiday with the girls, who are asked to dance to their singing and playing. Acquaintances, ending in love matches, are frequently formed in this way. A girl does not hesitate to declare her love for any young man that, she thinks, returns her feelings, by going boldly to his house and asking him to marry her. Her love is respected, and she is not repulsed. Girls are generally married at the age of 17 to 22, but there is no fixed age at which they must be married, and unmarried girls of 20 years and upwards may be seen in many villages. No particular discredit rests upon one who has failed to find a husband by then; but every girl hopes to be married soon after she has attained the age of puberty. Boys of well-to-do families are married between the

ages of 18 and 21; otherwise, they have to wait until they are old enough to earn the money required for the purchase of a bride. Many of them have been known to work without wages at their future father-in-law's house for several years in order to win a bride from among his daughters.

Misconduct with a blood relation and adultery are looked upon with horror, the popular belief being that they excite the anger of the earth-goddess, who brings about a season of drought and ruin to the whole village. The crime must be expiated by the sacrifice of a pig to the goddess and the breaking of a large pot of water at the house of the offender; if this is followed by a shower of rain, it is a sign of the removal of the curse. The aggrieved party is satisfied by the payment of damages (*sluhpâ* or *pranju*) and a feast to the tribesmen. The nearest relations from a confederate *muthâ* seize a pig or a buffalo, for which the young man has afterwards to pay, in satisfaction of the insult offered to them. These ceremonies performed, an unmarried girl is free to marry and is sought after just as if she had committed no offence. Misbehaviour with a relation by marriage must be atoned for by the union of the parties concerned. A married woman is taken back by her husband. Damages for breach of promise are claimed. If the young man is refused, he gets back his bride price with an additional head of cattle; but if he is the one to break the contract, he forfeits all that he has paid for the girl.

The Khond marriage ceremony is a mock form of capturing the bride and an attempt at rescue by her relatives. The preliminaries of the ceremony are entirely symbolic and consist in the pounding of paddy and similar domestic duties, which the bride will henceforth be called on to perform. The boy and the girl are then brought outside, the latter being made to stand on a low stool, which every Khond family provides for the old grandmother to sit on and prepare the family meal. The boy, armed with an axe and a bow and arrows, stands on the yoke of a plough, and the girl pounds some rice. They join hands and are immediately carried away bodily, amidst a shower of rice, by the relatives of the bridegroom, the girl making a show of resistance and her relatives trying to stop the fugitives. After the pursuit has continued for about half a mile or the cover of the jungles has been reached, the party is allowed to go away in peace, followed only by a few of the bride's relatives, who see her safely up to her new home. Brides-elect are often carried away from a market or a fair which they may happen to visit, in which case the ceremony described above is dispensed with. Even strangers to whom a

sudden fancy has been taken, are sometimes captured in the same manner.*

A bride-price is always demanded and paid. It depends on the means of the parties and is always paid in cattle. From 4 or 6 to as many as 30 or 40 head of cattle are known to be given. The bride's father is supposed to furnish her with a complete set of ornaments and household utensils, the cost of which does not fall far short of the bride-money. He has to present the bridegroom with an axe, bow and arrows, a large waist and shoulder cloth, a turban, and sometimes a bangle, necklace and ear-rings. In addition to all this, the marriage feast costs quite half as much again, so that the cost of a wedding averages from Rs 25 or Rs 30 to Rs. 150 or Rs. 200.

Widow-marriage is permitted. A widow may marry a younger brother or any other younger relation of her deceased husband; but she often prefers to remain unmarried and devote her life to the care of her children. If she has sons, she holds her husband's property in trust for them with the consent of his relations; otherwise she is supported by the surviving brothers. She is also permitted to marry outside the family, but in this case she must give up all her children to the care of their relatives. When a widow marries a younger relation, the sons of each husband inherit their father's property. In default of heirs to one or other of them, his property is divided equally among his surviving brothers, or if he had none, among the next nearest male relations. At the marriage of a widow no particular ceremonies are performed such as those which took place when she was taken to her first husband's house. The man simply pays a small price to her father and takes her away.

Adultery and theft are the chief reasons for divorcing a wife, but divorce is also allowed in case of incompatibility of temper. The ceremony performed to effect a separation consists of splitting or breaking in two a piece of straw; but this ceremony is often dispensed with, the wife going back to her father's house by mutual consent or at the bidding of her husband. The bride-money and the wife's ornaments must be returned by both sides, but if one or the other is particularly to blame, he or she forfeits all claim to the return of the property and must give compensation for the expenses incurred by the other side. Both parties are then free to marry whom they choose; but in the case of a divorced woman, as in that of a widow, no formalities are observed.

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* A detailed account of the marriage ceremonies will be found in *Marriage Customs of the Khonds*, by J. E. Friend-Pereira, J. A. S. B., Part III, 1902.

Polyandry is unknown, and polygamy is permitted only when a wife is sonless and gives her consent to a second marriage. This she readily does in order that there may be heirs to succeed to her husband's property. Her father's consent must also be obtained, and he must be given a feast in token of his daughter's honour having been maintained. Barrenness is attributed to the disfavour of the gods, to appease whom costly sacrifices are made at the annual festivals. A barren wife does not lose her place in her husband's family, but remains its mistress, and is treated kindly.

BIRTH CEREMONIES.

The birth of a child is followed by a succession of religious rites until it is a month old, when members of the family perform a great purification ceremony and are allowed to join in the village feasts. Three days after the child is born, a sacrifice to its deceased ancestors (*pidāris*) is performed. The blood of a chicken is caught up in a piece of astringent bark, and with it the four walls of the house are daubed. A piece of the same bark is stuck up over the doorway to prevent the entrance of evil spirits. It is necessary to ascertain which of the ancestors has re-entered the family. The village priest, or one versed in the genealogy of the village, holds a bow firmly in both hands and begins repeating the names of all the ancestors, male and female, in quick succession. The ancestor, at the mention of whose name the slightest trembling of the bow is observed, is supposed to have animated the new-born child, who is thereupon shaved and presented to the tribe, after the roasted liver of a fowl, offered in sacrifice to the visitant spirit, has been placed upon its tongue. A feast is also given to the villagers. No particular ceremony is observed at the naming of children. One of them is often named after the great-grandfather. Names must not be selected by the father of the child. The grandfather or the mother usually chooses them, and strangers are also often requested to name a child. There is no special season for naming children, many of whom remain without one till the age of 5 or 6 years. Till then they are called merely "little boy" or "little girl."

DEATH CEREMONIES.

The dead are burned, but pregnant women, those who die in childbirth, and babies under a month old, are buried. The two first-named are buried across a stream or far away from the village. Suicides and persons dying a violent death, however, are given the honours of cremation just as if they had died a natural death. The corpse is placed, dressed as it is, at full length on the funeral pyre with the hands drawn together over the body. The pile is lighted by the relatives of the deceased, not necessarily by his heirs. Some rice and all the wearing apparel and ornaments, together with a few agricultural

instruments, that were in the personal use of the deceased, are thrown upon the pyre. The ashes of the pile are left untouched. On the following day the Pān priest purifies all the people who attended the funeral by sprinkling some oil over their heads with a small broom made of twigs or blades of grass. The family in which the death occurred is prohibited from touching flesh and liquor until a ceremony of propitiation and purification is performed, a few days afterwards, by the renewal of all the earthen vessels, a sacrifice and libation to the departed spirit, and a feast to the villagers. No particular period of mourning is observed, but the relations of the deceased visit the family for a few days by way of condolence (*mārā*) and make offerings to the departed spirit at the cremation ground (*tunenji*). An offering of food is carried to the cremation ground immediately after the body has been disposed of. It consists of some cooked rice and a chicken divided into twelve parts, and is placed where the deceased's head, feet and arms lay. One share is intended for himself, and the rest for his deceased ancestors, who are called upon to take him into their safe keeping.

The souls of women dying in or soon after child-birth, or while pregnant, become evil spirits, ever striving to injure their surviving relations. The latter are particularly dreaded, so much so that pieces of iron are driven into the flesh near the knee-joint, and a perforated spoon of the same material is buried in the breast to prevent the evil spirit from breaking loose from its abode. When a man dies, the relatives, on their return from the funeral, leave a plate of rice out on the roadside at some distance from their house. If the rice disappears next morning, it is a sign that the departed spirit will at some future time revisit the family. The ceremony is repeated every evening till the propitiatory sacrifice has been performed.

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES.

The Khonds do not worship images and build no temples. Blocks of stone are erected in honour of only the earth-goddess and the hill-god. Two great religious ceremonies are performed yearly, one at sowing and the other at harvest time, at which most of the deities are worshipped. Chief among these is the earth-goddess, Tānā Penu, or as she is also misnamed Dāreni Penu, whose shrine stands at the head of every village and consists of three upright stones covered by a large, flat one, within which she is supposed to reside. One of the stones is for her consort, Jākeri Penu, and another for her brother, Mrivi Penu, the intercessor, through whom all offerings to her are made. Mrivi, it is said, was first approached by human beings when the ravages of his malignant sister had become intolerable.

Kāti Penu, the god of leprosy, is not worshipped, as the Khonds say he can never be appeased; lepers are segregated. Māuli, the god of trees or the forest, is greatly dreaded; and localities in which he is supposed to reside are avoided. Esu Penu, the god of springs and swamps, is also feared in a lesser degree; but no yearly offerings are made to these deities, who are worshipped only when they are declared to be responsible for some particular evil. A pig or a kid and the first fruits of every crop are given to the earth-goddess. The hill-god, Saru Penu, claims a sacrifice of a kid or a chicken at both seasons. A special sacrifice under a newly-built shed within the homestead fence is made once a year to Jākeri Penu. An offering is made in the cattle pen to the old herdsmen who watch over the flock. A chicken is sacrificed at the entrance to the house where the spirits of the Parjā Pāns sit as watchmen (*Dārā* or *Pātālākā*). Some Khonds worship Turki Penu, the god of the dung-hill, from which manure for their fields is taken. The spirits of heaven and earth (Sendo and Nede Piteri) and the god of forest fires (Dlāvā Penu), the god of war (Kālā Penu), the sun, moon, stars, wind, rain and the ancient ferrymen and fishermen are invoked at certain sacrifices. Jābāri Penu, the guardian spirit of human beings, who is supposed to overshadow his creatures and to ward off all evil from them, must be appeased by an offering of a kid and a chicken, when his departure in anger opens the way to the attacks of malignant spirits. Rujā or Jugā Penu, the god of blight and famine, is offered a kid yearly after sowing time.

Offerings are also made to deceased ancestors or the *pidāri pitā*, of which Mr. Friend-Pereira has given the following account. In every Khond dwelling one of the corners of the main room is held sacred to *pidāri pitā*, just as in a Russian peasant household the space behind the stove is supposed to be the abode of *domovoy*, the representative of the spirits of dead ancestors. It is in this corner that the special sacrifices to *pidāri pitā* are performed by the *pidāri guru* or special priest of the cult. When, for instance, the bride-price consisting of so many head of cattle is taken to the father of the girl, the *pidāri guru* of the girl's family sacrifices one of the cows, which has been specially included for that purpose in the bride-price, and offers its blood to the spirits of ancestors in the corner where they are supposed to dwell. The ordinary ritual in offering a sacrifice to any of the deities is to invoke all the deities—Dharma Penu, Tānā Penu, the nature godlings, the village demons, the tutelary god of the community, and the manes of ancestors and friends. But in this

special sacrifice to *pidāri pitā* the other deities are not invoked, as the ceremony is a purely domestic one. The *pidāri guru* calls on the spirits of the girl's grand-parents and great-grand-parents (if they are dead) and step by step of all the ancestors, sometimes collectively if the names are not known, until he reaches the totem. Similarly, he invokes the spirits of the ancestors of the bridegroom, going backwards from generation to generation until he arrives at the totem. Then he addresses the ancestor spirits and calls on them to witness the nuptials of their descendants, and exhorts them to enter into the bonds of friendship with each other. Again, at a special sacrifice to *pidāri pitā*, when after a bad dream Jamo Penu or the night goblin has to be propitiated, the *pidāri guru* pours out a libation of liquor and invokes the ancestor spirits, including the totem, to protect their descendant from the demon of dreams. Also the *pidāri guru* is called in to perform a ceremony of propitiation, when a Khond sees an animal which constitutes his totem, especially one not likely to be seen every day. Thus, "a Khond of the Chitā Krāndi (chameleon) stock on meeting his totem during a journey, will turn back at once and will tell his relations in an awed whisper '*Māi penu mehte* (I have seen our god)'; and the *pidāri guru* will be sent for to perform a propitiatory sacrifice and to discover the cause that has actuated the deity to manifest himself."*

The tribal ancestors are worshipped once a year when the paddy is reaped by one section of the Khonds, but no sacrifice is offered to female or childless ancestors, or to those who have died a violent death. A deceased wife is propitiated on the arrival of a second wife, the house-father sacrificing a chicken, and the new wife cooking some rice, which is offered to gain the good-will of the departed spirit. *Vāko lākā* is the sacrifice required for the consummation of marriage. A day or two after the arrival of a bride, some rice and the blood of a chicken are poured into a rice mortar, in which an arrow has been previously placed. The bride, carrying a basket of rice, and the bridegroom, armed with an axe, march together round a *mahuā* tree (Bassia latifolia). A few handfuls of the rice are placed beneath it, and an invocation is made for bumper crops and a plentiful yield of fruit. The young man conceals himself in the men's dormitory, where he is seized by the young people of the village and forcibly brought back to his own house. Illness is ascribed to the anger of one or other of the gods or deceased ancestors. Snakes and wild animals are not worshipped, injuries inflicted by them, as well as attacks of fever, being

* J. E. Friend-Pereira, *Totemism among the Khonds*, J. A. S. B., Part III, 1904.

ascribed to the ill-will of the hill-god. The worship of the earth, the hills and deceased ancestors is common to all, but any spirit that the Guru may name as requiring propitiation must be worshipped on particular occasions.

The great buffalo sacrifice (*Kedu lākā*) is an occasional offering made to the earth-goddess in order to avoid disasters, to ensure the fertility of the soil, and to secure the general prosperity of the people. Special objects, such as the reclamation of forest land, the establishing of a new village, and, sometimes, the success of some private or domestic business, demand the performance of this rite, which is looked upon as one of national importance and as an essential and sacred duty. It is held by individuals or conjointly by families or septs. *Kedu lākā*, once performed upon a piece of land, gives an indisputable right of ownership over it. The surrounding tribesmen are always invited to state and settle any claims they may have before the victim is driven over the land. The sacrifice is a survival of the terrible Meriāh or human sacrifice, the *Mrivi* or *Toki lākā*, which had been going on for generations among these wild people, till it was suppressed by Major-General Sir J. Campbell, C.B., and Major Macpherson, and the use of rice beer (*rāja kālu*), of which a libation used to be offered at the sacrifice, was prohibited. Victims were kidnapped from the plains by the Pāns and Hāris, and sold to the Khonds for a price varying from Rs. 60 to Rs. 130 paid in grain or cattle, or in return for a grant of a piece of land; these people sometimes sold even their own children. The Meriāhs were treated sumptuously, but when they grew up they were put in irons, many remaining in bondage to an old age. Some were allowed to marry or bore children to their Khond masters, and the offspring, who were looked upon as Meriāhs, were exchanged for those belonging to other families. SACRIFICES.

When a sacrifice is decided upon, news is sent to all the members of the community, and this is followed by a season of preparation, during which the victim is fed with dainties of different kinds. It usually takes place in the months of April and May, before the sowing season begins, on any day convenient to the parties. Offerings of sweets, rice, flowers and incense are made to the goddess by the Jākeri through the medium of the Tiombā, who is usually a small boy, so that no sinful hands may approach the dreaded goddess. The victim, having been smeared with oil and garlanded, is chained to a post in front of the Jākeri's house, where the people, men and women, dance in groups to the deafening noise of drums and cymbals. The post has about six inches of its top cut away slantwise and squared, which gives it the rude

appearance of a turbaned head. It is daubed with vermilion and lamp black. A long pole, surmounted by an umbrella and a red flag, which are frequently shaken, is bound to the post. An effigy of a peacock made out of a block of wood, in which a few feathers are stuck, is suspended above it, and is jerked about by means of a long string.

The victim is approached with the tinkling of bells, while the Meriāh songs are chanted in its ears. The invocations are the same as those which used to be made at the human sacrifice. Everybody tries to induce the Meriāh to eat a portion of the offering he has brought, and after touching its anointed body, they smear the oil on their foreheads. The victim is driven round the boundaries of the village, or the pole, to which it has been bound, is carried round it, accompanied by a band of Pān musicians. It is then led to the Bāriri or sacred grove, on the outskirts of the village, where a pit has been previously dug and filled with the blood of a pig. The Jāni cuts off a small piece of the flesh from the back of the head and buries it at the shrine of the goddess. The poor animal is immediately borne to the ground and is partially flayed alive for the purpose of collecting its blood, while the assembled people hack off lumps of its flesh, which they carry away in great haste and bury with much ceremony at the shrine of the goddess and on the boundaries of their respective villages. The remains of the victim, with the unmutilated head, are buried in the bloody pit.

A calf is next brought to the post, its four feet are cut off, and it is left there till next morning when it is killed and eaten; this is called the Sāpeni Koru. The women bring large baskets filled with cooked rice, which they scatter in front of the Jākeri's house, and dance and throw up handfuls of dust in the air, owing to which the ceremony is called *Duli kedu*. A great feast and a heavy bout of drinking, in which both men and women join, closes the sacrifice. In some parts a buffalo is not sacrificed now, but a pig, whose ears have been cut off and buried, or a goat is substituted. Sometimes only the latter portion of the ceremony relating to the Sāpeni Koru is performed. The women receive a present of a pig, which they exchange for a kid or a calf. The Jāni is dismissed with a similar reward. Human Meriāhs, it may be added, were first smothered in the blood of the pig, but in many places they were hacked to pieces alive, just as the buffalo is now treated. Red is the national colour of the Khonds; their flags and turbans are of this dye, and a bloody or red cloth thrown on the ground is a challenge. It preceded the opening of hostilities

or a battle, which usually began with a contest between single combatants, who were joined from time to time by other groups and were plied with food, liquor and advice by the old men.

PRIESTS. Sacrifices are inaugurated and arranged year after year by the Jākeri, who is a descendant of the founder of the village and one of the joint owners of the land. The Jākeri provides the offerings and fixes the day on which the worship is to be held. He sits beside the priests, repeating a string of petitions while handing them the offerings. The worship of Jākeri Penu and the first fruit offerings to the earth-goddess must be attended to personally by the Jākeri. Gurus are the priests of Tānā Penu, and Dehuris are the priests of Saru Penu. The latter are prohibited from eating the fruit of the *dumberi* and *landru* trees, while the Jākeri is supposed to live in a quiet and abstemious manner. The Gurus are generally versed in the knowledge of a few medicinal herbs and the art of exorcism and divination; they are asked to cure diseases and to expel evil spirits. They must be either Khonds or Khond Kumhārs. The Dehuri is invariably a Khond owning land within the village. The Guru is assisted by the Tlombā and the Jāni. In some places the Guru takes the Jāni's place, and in others the Tlombī is dispensed with. Where goats have been substituted for pigs, the man who slaughters them is called Bāhuak, an Oriyā name. Persons exercising priestly functions must cook and eat separately, and are served first at village feasts. The offices are all hereditary, provided the holders continue capable and bear a good character. When there is no male issue to succeed, or should the services of a priest be deemed to have become inefficacious, a new one is appointed by a process of divination with a bow held by a Guru, who makes known the wishes of the god by walking into the selected person's house. Besides these, there is the Pān Guru, who is called in to drive away evil spirits, such as those of pregnant women or when a man is mauled by a wild animal, and is also employed to cure diseases by sorcery. Pān Gurus are not called in at the annual sacrifices. The Jāni is remunerated by the grant of a piece of land, which is named after and dedicated to the sacred office. The Gurus are paid in kind only when their services are required The Tlombā is fed and clothed at the expense of the people. The Jākeri is presented with a brass bowl to hold the water with which he washes his hands and feet before performing a sacrifice. They are all given a piece of new cloth, subscribed for by the villagers, whenever they have been employed at a sacrifice.

OATHS. The Khonds have numerous ways of taking oaths, but have given up the drastic ones formerly common, such as thrusting the hand into a pot of boiling oil or holding a red-hot piece of

iron. Drinking-water in which a piece of gold has been steeped ratifies a promise, the breach of which entails poverty. The same ceremony is gone through on the re-admission of an exile into the tribe. A false oath taken at the potter's wheel causes lunacy, and if taken at the field from which the standing crop has been stolen, the death of the thief. The water oath, at which the disputants have to immerse themselves completely in a pool of water, is another way of testing their claims, the man who can keep his breath the longest being adjudged to have spoken the truth. But the most solemn oath is that which is taken before the earth-goddess in a land dispute. A pig is sacrificed on the land, and its blood, mixed with some rice and the earth of the disputed field, has to be swallowed by the deponent. If he lies, he will be attacked by some fatal illness within seven days. A simple libation of liquor to the earth-goddess is very frequently made to ratify an oath or a promise. The oath, which is administered in the courts, embodies all the older forms. A *tāmbi*, the standard measure, containing a piece of tiger's skin, some salt, paddy, rice, cat's fur, the leaves of the broom plant, and earth from an ant-hill, is placed before the witness, and after being made to repeat the names of the contents, he swears to tell the truth.

AMULETS. The use of amulets does not appear to be in favour with the Khonds. In times of sickness, the sorcerer (*kutā-gattānju*) wraps a piece of thread, to which he has knotted a hair from his own head, round the wrist or neck of the patient. It is removed when the patient has completely recovered. When evil befalls a house, the Guru is summoned, with the object of ascertaining which of the gods or deceased ancestors are offended. A bow is requisitioned and the ceremony of questioning all of them repeated, after which a special sacrifice is offered to the offended deity. Two seeds of the bitter gourd suspended from the neck removes barrenness.

CULTIVATION. There can be little doubt that the Khonds were formerly a nomadic race, sometimes winning the land from weaker tribes by force of arms, and sometimes taking up a piece of virgin soil, which they cleared of jungle and settled upon for one generation, or until the land became exhausted, and then moved on to a new clearing. Though they are now settled cultivators, traces of their old customs are still visible. With the exception of the low paddy fields, which are embanked and manured and are cultivated year after year, the people do not go on tilling the same plot of land, but after raising one or two crops, allow it to remain fallow for two or three years. No care is taken to improve the soil by

manuring, nor is any attempt made to effect irrigation from tanks or wells, or even to collect flood water by the construction of ridges round their high-level fields. A spring bubbling up in the middle of a paddy field waters the winter rice crop of that and the adjoining ones; but no effort is made to carry the water to the more elevated plots.

The Khonds are averse to the labour of cultivation cheerfully undertaken by the Oriyā, and consider one or two ploughings enough. They have learnt, however, to transplant paddy; the earlier varieties are sown broadcast, but winter rice, which is the chief crop, is always transplanted. They raise only a bare sufficiency for their own sustenance and sometimes hardly that; but they make a fairly large profit out of the turmeric crop, which finds a ready market and is eagerly bought up by traders from distant places. It is curious to note that the Khonds never grow sugarcane, for they believe that a man who grows turmeric will never make a successful cane-grower, and that one or other of the two crops will prove a failure, if attempted by the same person. This belief is shared in by the Oriyās, who prefer to grow sugarcane. *Jhūming* is still practised on the hill-tops, where the soil is scratched with a wooden pick and a few hardy crops are raised. Steel ploughshares are of recent introduction. The Khonds use a steel pick (*gadi*) for digging, a hoe (*kelai gadi*), a harrow (*pālā*) without teeth, being only a plain rectangular pole, a board or plank (*kurarā*) revolving in a socket for dragging over the earth, a sickle (*kele*), and a small knife (*kure*) for nipping off the ears of paddy. They have learnt to grow sweet-potatoes and other bulbous crops, beans, pumpkins, brinjals and chillies. Their cattle are very inferior, but the goats are of a fairly large size, yielding nutritious meat and fetching high prices. Sheep are scarce and of an inferior quality.

The Khonds live in low wooden houses which they build themselves. Every man is something of a carpenter, but the only tools he uses are a hatchet and a chisel, with both of which he is very expert. A great log is hewn, and thick heavy planks hacked out of it. At convenient distances grooved posts are erected, into which the planks are slid lengthwise and bound firm by cross-stays, which are fixed by wooden pins and keys. The doors are ingeniously made to revolve in grooved blocks fixed to the frame; not a nail is used in the whole structure. The roof consists of thin flat rafters with a thatch of straw, and the only repairs it requires is the addition of a layer of fresh straw every year. It takes a Khond two years to build a house, and it lasts from 20 to 30 years. He gets no assistance from his neighbours, Houses.

nor can he obtain any by the offer of wages if he happens to reside in a well-to-do village. The houses generally consist of two small rooms separated by a railing. One of these is partitioned and used for cooking and sleeping in, and the other serves as a cattle pen. The younger members of the family and the servants sleep in a separate room, where their stock of grain is stored. The grown-up girls sleep together in a dormitory called *dāngeni-iddu*, in charge of one of the old women. There is another one for the young men. The houses are constructed in two long continuous rows facing one another with a road between, and at the back is a fence enclosing the homestead plot (*bārā*), so that the whole village looks not unlike a stockade.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS. The men wear a curious sort of garment called a *sāri*. It is a long strip of coarse country cloth, the ends of which are woven in squares of red and blue and are allowed to hang loosely at the back, almost down to the heels. The appointment of a headman is followed by his formal investiture with a *sāri* by all the tribesmen over whom he is to rule; and in return he gives them an ample supply of liquor with which to make merry till a late hour. A similar ceremony is performed upon the selection of a new *sardār*, who, with the Khond headman, forms the link between the Government and the people.

The women wear a wider and more gaily-coloured piece of cloth. They do not cover their heads, but throw the ends of the garment over their shoulders. Large reed necklaces, which they manufacture themselves, hang loosely from the neck, while a profusion of gold and silver rings, a silver band across the forehead, thick brazen bracelets and pewter anklets adorn other parts of the body. When it is time for a girl to be married, she gets her face tattooed with some very quaint designs. Such tattooing is considered a graceful ornament, so much so that no Khond would accept a girl who had not so adorned herself. Across both cheeks, from the temple to the lobes of the ears, are drawn straight, dotted lines at right angles to one another; over the forehead and chin a string of small regular geometrical figures, such as triangles, circles and diamonds, are punctured, and the same figures appear near the lips and eyes. No other part of the body is tattooed. The punctures are made with a thick needle and are smeared with a mixture of lamp-black and the juice of the plantain, after which an application of turmeric is rubbed over the whole face. Nothing acid must be eaten until the punctures have healed. The operation is performed by Khond women, who are paid four annas for their work. It is curious to note how these people, who can never make a

straight road, are yet able to draw such geometrically perfect figures without the aid of rule or compass. Another curious ornamentation is the boring of the entire rim of the ear, into which thin sticks, from two to three inches in length, are inserted. After marriage the sticks are replaced by silver rings. Gold necklaces, ear-rings and nose-rings, as well as silver necklets and hair ornaments, are also worn.

The Khonds do not crop their hair, but tie it in a top-knot fastened with a copper pin or small comb on the right side overhanging the forehead. On festive occasions the hair is decorated with a cock's feather or a few wild flowers, which they are very fond of. They wear small silver bangles and a gold necklace and ear-rings. After marriage they never shave their heads. The women simply roll the hair up at the back and adorn it with flowers, a number of large silver pins and a silver band across the head. The young men shave themselves, but the old ones prefer to grow a beard.

Before they passed under British rule, the Khonds subsisted by plundering their neighbours, by the chase, and by collecting jungle produce. A predatory life is now impossible under a settled system of government, but hunting is still their great sport. Jungle produce is to this day collected and eaten with relish even by those who can afford to do without it; and every Khond loves to own a gun with which to follow the *sāmbar* and deer, or exterminate the wild animals that devour his flocks and herds; his other weapons are bows and arrows and the *tāngi* or axe. The latter, which is also a sacrificial instrument, is the Khond's favourite weapon and constant companion. With it he kills his victim, clears the jungle, and defends himself from wild animals. The Khonds eat food cooked by any of the clean Hindu castes, but will not eat with blacksmiths, cowherds and washermen. Bullocks and cows are sacrificed only to the spirits of deceased ancestors, when it is believed that they are inflicting severe illness and require a sacrifice of this nature. Their flesh is eaten. Buffaloes are freely sacrificed and eaten in Ganjām, but not in the Khondmāls. FOOD.

The Khonds do not eat snakes, lizards, mice and other vermin, the flesh of any carnivorous wild animal, nor the flesh of bears and monkeys. Fish, taken in conical-shaped baskets from the fields in the rainy season and from shallow pools in the hot weather, are eaten with great relish. All kinds of game birds, parrots, doves, peacocks, fowl, and other kinds of birds, except those which feed on carrion, rodents and all animals of the chase, and occasionally alligators, are eaten. The Khonds do

not drink milk, as they have an objection to partaking of what has been sucked by the calf, and to depriving the latter of its natural food. Women and grown-up girls do not eat pork, which is considered a delicious meal, because the young men have made a vow never to marry one who is given to eating this flesh, in retaliation, it is said, for all the pork having been greedily eaten up by the girls on the occasion of a feast while the men had gone to drink liquor. The Khonds use no eating or drinking vessels. A platter or bowl, made of leaves, pinned together, of which every family keeps a large stock, serves both purposes. Little spoons are prepared in the same way for sipping liquor. Earthen pots are purchased only for cooking. One set is kept until some religious ceremony requires its renewal. Large copper pots, one of which forms part of every girl's dowry, are used for carrying water and for cooking at a feast. The meals are prepared by the grandmother, who is looked upon as the mistress of the family. A daughter-in-law does not eat in the presence of the elderly females of the family. She gets her place when the others have died off.

The consumption of spirit distilled from the flowers of the *mahuā* is their great weakness, the large quantities which they imbibe playing havoc with their constitutions. It is gradually reducing them to a state of poverty, and leading to a corresponding increase in the wealth of the money-lending and distilling class, which takes every opportunity of encouraging the consumption of liquor. Even women and children indulge in spirits. It is difficult to wean them from this habit, as a libation of liquor is offered to their gods at all their sacrifices; but the efforts of Government are being directed to preventing drunkenness. The use of the hookah is unknown, but from early years the people smoke a kind of cigar, called *kāheli*, made from tobacco grown by themselves; the leaves being plucked green, dried over a fire, and stuffed into a cone made of a *sāl* leaf. Such cigars are the indispensable companions of the Khond, and three or four of them may always be seen stuck in the waist and the hair.

Music and dances. The only musical instrument that the Khond can play is the *plekā*, a three-stringed instrument, made of two gourds fixed to a round piece of wood about 12 inches long; this instrument is used to accompany the love songs of the young men. At the village dance the girls join hands and form a circle after binding some bright-coloured piece of cloth, like the headman's *sāri*, round the waist. The boys stand around them, singing alternately a few verses, spontaneously composed and innocent of

both rhyme and metre, to the one simple tune that they know. The whole party, swaying their bodies, move slowly round in a circle, keeping time by clapping their hands and beating their anklets.*

Colonel Campbell described the Khonds as "sunk in the depths of ignorance, superstition and sensuality." "They are," he said, "not so expert at a lie as their more civilized neighbours of the plains, but regard for truth, for its own sake, they have none." Colonel Campbell, however, never lived amongst the Khonds. He only marched through the country in the winter months at the head of a military force, capturing their Meriāhs in order to suppress human sacrifice, which was the Khonds' most sacred rite. If they lied to him, it was nothing but what one would expect under those conditions; but to say that they have absolutely no regard for truth for its own sake, is not correct. Many Khonds are convicted year after year for unlawful distillation of liquor, and are heavily fined on their own confessions, when a denial would in several cases secure an acquittal; other criminal cases end in the same way, even cases of murder and homicide. As in other matters, the Khonds have been misunderstood. They are too ignorant to explain matters in a sensible manner or to tell a story in a connected and intelligent manner. What they cannot explain is put down to lying, but if one had the patience to extract all the particulars—no easy matter, since the Khonds imagine others are as well acquainted with details as they are themselves, and so make no mention of them—it would be found, in most cases, that they have been telling the truth. It is, however, true that the Khonds were, and still are, very superstitious and ignorant, and addicted to drunkenness. CHARACTER.

On the whole, they are an independent, honest and straightforward people, having great respect for themselves and for their neighbours. An insult is keenly resented and is seldom offered; the greatest insult possible is to call a man a Meriāh. Begging is unknown; it is looked upon with scorn and contempt, being regarded as tantamount to acknowledging oneself a bond servant. The Khonds, indeed, would rather starve than beg, and have been induced to accept agricultural loans from Government with the greatest difficulty, as they thought the money was intended to be purchase-money for the purpose of making slaves of them. They are both generous and hospitable, and are always ready to relieve distress and suffering in their own simple way. It is a point of

* Translations of some popular songs will be found in *Some Khond Songs*, by J. E. Friend-Pereira, J. A. S. B., Part III, 1899.

honour never to refuse shelter to any one. An unwelcome guest is not told to leave, but the host finds some excuse for leaving the house. It is considered bad etiquette to refuse a request point blank, especially when a man comes to ask for a bride. His feelings must not be hurt, and he must be made to understand in an indirect manner. A man never exposes himself to a rebuff by plunging into a discussion or joining a feast uninvited. They are quiet and dignified in their manners and courteous and considerate towards their equals and inferiors. Undue familiarity is promptly checked. The women are respected and share almost every privilege with the men, over whom they acquire great influence. In domestic matters their sway is undisputed. Prostitution, whether secret or open, is unknown among them, and their standard of morality is, on the whole, good, though girls give play to their desires with the men they have fallen in love with and intend to marry.

Theft is looked upon as the most heinous of crimes, particularly in the case of women, and involves exile from the tribe. Anything left in trust is safe in the hands of a Khond, more care being taken of it than if it belonged to the man himself. Deliberate murder is practically unknown. Manslaughter on the spur of the moment, or upon grave provocation, is sometimes committed, but almost always under the influence of liquor. Oaths and promises are sacred, death being preferred to a breach of the former. Though at first suspicious of strangers, the people soon become friendly and trustful. On approaching their villages, it is usual to find them fleeing to the jungle or hiding in their houses, but curiosity soon overcomes their fear, when they find the visit is made with no hostile intention. Once their confidence has been gained, they are willing to go to any lengths to give practical proof of their friendliness. They are loyal to their friends and masters, whom they are ready to defend against outsiders. Servants are faithful, obedient and conscientious workers. The tribesmen are naturally very conservative and clannish, even to the extent of supporting foreigners settled in their *muthās* against their own tribesmen of other *muthās*. An idea once taken is very difficult to eradicate, though loss and injury may result from it; and new ones are slowly imbibed.

The Khonds possess a good deal of quiet humour. Sly jokes are often made and meet with bursts of laughter. They are fond of giving one another nicknames which are called *kāpkā-pādā*, *i.e.*, a laughing name, or *lā-pādā*, *i.e.*, a girl's name. They are easily amused and work all the better for being bantered; but if spoken to roughly, they become sullen and discontented. They are of a

cheerful and thoughtless disposition, making the best of things as they come. Naturally they are very improvident, and they expect the same honesty from outsiders as they themselves display. These qualities, combined with their ignorance and their aversion to being dragged into court on frivolous charges, lead to their being imposed upon by foreigners in a very heartless fashion. They are free and open in their manners and innocent of deceit and chicanery, never hesitating to express their feelings, if asked for a straightforward answer. Witnesses scorn to exaggerate in the interests of their friends, especially if their veracity is appealed to. False claims are not set up or countenanced, nor are cases instituted without a genuine grievance.

As children of the forest, the people are very superstitious and timid, ever ready to imagine signs of approaching evil and to offer sacrifices to avert it. All that they cannot understand or cope with is put down to some supernatural and mischievous agency. Old women and men are often declared to be evil spirits in human form destroying their fellow beings; sometimes they are said to be metamorphosed tigers. Lingering diseases or several deaths in a family are put down to the evil influence of a neighbour. Attacks of wild animals are often followed by the abandonment of a holding. Being a shy and exclusive race, they do not encourage intercourse with outsiders, and the more they are left to themselves, the better are they pleased. Strangers are not admitted within the tribe, but if any one desires to live with them, he can do so, if he is a member of a respectable class. The custom appears to be a survival of the times when their growing needs demanded the assistance of outsiders. If a man desires to settle in a village, he tries to win the good graces of the headman, and if successful, is given a piece of land and a house. or is set up in trade. He thenceforth becomes a *parjā* and looks for protection to his new patron (*sāhu*), who is expected to find and pay for a wife for him; in return, if prosperous, he helps him in time of trouble. The relationship continues for generations and is cheerfully taken up by the heirs of the contracting parties. Pāns and Sundis are usually the *parjās*, the former being the domestic messengers, and the latter having been originally introduced for the purpose of distilling liquor for their *sāhus*.

Intellectually, they are by no means dull and stupid. If pains are taken with them, they quickly learn to read and write, but the difficulty of getting foreigners who know nothing of their language to teach them Oriyā, which the children certainly have not learnt at their homes, is naturally great, all the more so because Khond is not a written language.

COMMUNES. In concluding this sketch of the Khonds, mention may be made of the different Khond communes. A full account of these communes has been given by Mr. J. E. Friend-Pereira, formerly Subdivisional Officer of the Khondmāls, in an article *Totemism among the Khonds*, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part III, 1904, from which the following description has been condensed.

Numerically the most prominent and socially the most influential and prosperous commune in the Khondmāls is the Chhotā Pāju confederacy of six septs, or sub-septs, which occupies the centre of the eastern half of the subdivision. One of the traditions of the Chhotā Pāju says that their original home was in the basin of the Mahānadi in the tract of country now comprised in the district of Sambalpur. Thence they migrated under a leader named Tangāri into the hills of Chinā Kimedi, where they dwelt for many generations round Dodā Soru, a prominent peak to the west of Udayagiri. Finally, they moved northwards, and took possession of the territory which they now hold after conquering an older sept, called Ropormendi Khonds; the latter are still found in a few scattered families, without any commmunal rights, among the dominant Chhotā Pāju sub-septs. The date of this invasion may perhaps be conjectured from another of their traditions. It is said that in the time of Gandha Mārdan, the last king of the Brāhman dynasty of Baud, which ended, according to Major Macpherson, about the beginning of the ninth century A. D,* a fierce struggle took place between the kings of Baud and Chinā Kimedi for the possession of a renowned idol, that was enshrined in a temple in Mahāsingi, a village to the south of the Dedā Soru hill The Chhotā Pāju, who played a prominent part in the war and eventually obtained a decisive victory over the Chinā Kimedi king, carried off the idol and set it up at Balaskumpā, a *garh* or fort of the Hindu suzerain, in the centre of the Chhotā Pāju country. This goes by the name of the Bara Rāwāl Thākurāni, a semi-Hinduized deity quite distinct from the animist godlings or demons of the Khonds. It is worshipped at the time of the Durgā Pūjā with a sacrifice of buffaloes, and seems to be a tribal deity of these Khond septs.

Their tutelary deity is Panthi Mā Durgā, a purely animist goddess that is not represented by an idol, although she bears a Hindu name. Panthi is the feminine of *patho*, a path or way; and the goddess is worshipped as the spirit that guided the adventurous band and brought its members safely through the hills and

* S. C. Macpherson, *Report upon the Khonds of the districts of Ganjam and Cuttack.*

jungles to the Chhotā Pāju country. There are three more tutelary deities for the three sub-communes into which the Chhotā Pāju are divided, viz., Gūrbi for the eldest section, Bidumendi and Bākāmendi; Prisu Pātā for the next in order, Gumālmendi and Grāndimendi; and Sān Bara Rāwāl Thākurānī for the youngest branch, Sāndūmendi and Dūtimendi. Gūrbi is the demon of the spot where a human sacrifice had been offered to the earth-goddess by the Guru, *i.e.*, the priest of the earth-goddess. Prisu Pātā is believed to protect her votaries under her sheltering wings; the name means small birds, and the Gumālmendi and Grāndimendi Khonds will not kill or trap small birds. Sān Bara Rāwāl Thākurānī is the same as Bara Rāwāl Thākurānī. As she is the tutelary deity of the youngest section, the order of precedence is reversed, the Dūtimendi and Sāndumendi taking the lead in the commune, while the Dūtimendi, the youngest of the sub-communes, furnish the federal patriarch for the whole confederacy.

The constitution of the Chhotā Pāju confederacy is peculiar. Chhotā Pāju or Chhotā Pādki means the six *pādu* or countries, and there are six territorial areas called *muthās*, viz., Bidumendi and Bākāmendi, Gumālmendi and Grāndimendi, Sāndūmendi and Dūtimendi. Each of the pairs forms a sub-commune, and in each of the six *muthās* are found families of various stocks with different totems, the members of which cannot intermarry within the six confederated *muthās*. They form an exogamous group, being considered members of one great brotherhood. "This exogamous group of various totem stocks," Mr. Friend-Pereira remarks, "is the *gochi* of Mr. Risley, who was misled into believing that all the members of a *gochi* were of the same blood.*"

There is also a small sept (*klāmbu*) of the Chhotā Pāju Khonds, called the Gūhā Pinjā Klāmbu, in the broken country on the edge of the Khondmāls plateau which is occupied by the Upar Chāro Kombo commune. Gūhā Pinjā means running away as fast as possible; and the name is explained by a legend that the ancestor of the sept fled from the Chhotā Pāju country owing to a blood feud.

The Tin Pāri or Borgochā Khonds are a confederation of three district communes, in each of which are found families of various stocks. The three dominant septs are the Delā Pāri, the Kāleā Pāri and the Sidu Pāri. *Delā* in Khond means a twig, and the totem of the Delā Pāri is the twig of any tree. Consequently, they will never use twigs in the construction of a house of wattle and dab, or stay in the temporary huts (*kūrid*) made of branches

* Risley, *Castes and Tribes of Bengal.*

and leaves which are set up in the fields for the purpose of watching the crops. There is a superstition that any one of the Delā Pāri sept who sleeps in a *kūriā* at night will be carried of by a tiger.

The name *kāleā* means black, like a thief in the night, and is explained by a quaint legend. Many generations ago, it is said, a youth of the Tomūsmendi *muthā* in Gumsur, while out hunting came upon a group of girls bathing in a mountain stream. The girls were his kinswomen, being of the same exogamous section as himself, and repulsed his overtures with horror. Enraged at their rejection, he caught up their clothes and disappeared into the jungles. Knowing that return to the village meant death—for the punishment for the crime of incest was instant death—he became a wanderer, and eventually made his way to the Tin Pāri district, where he founded the Kāleā Pāri or thief sept. In commemoration perhaps of this event, the sept observes a curious ceremonial once a year. The priest makes a rude flag by tying a piece of cloth to a pole, and carries it in great solemnity from village to village. All the young men and women of the Kāleā Pāri follow in procession and chant obscene songs as a part of the ritual. The flag is then buried in the ground with much ceremony. Unchastity or incontinence is looked upon with horror, immorality being regarded as a sacrilege that provokes the wrath of the deity. The character of the women is irreproachable, and there is a saying that no woman of the Kāleā Pāri stock has ever yet been known to have gone astray.

The name *Sidu* borne by the Sidu Pāri stock means in Khond "they are not," and is explained by a legend that they formerly dwelt in caves, and then strangers approached, disappeared like rabbits in a warren. To this day they will not enter a cave or make any excavation, *e.g.*, for a well or tank. They have a religious ceremony—perhaps the worship of the tutelary deity of the stock—in which three slabs of stone, planted perpendicularly in the ground with the third piece resting on the top of the upright pieces, are made to represent a *gumphā* or cave, within which a sacrifice is offered by the priest.

The Bengrikiā communes are made up of two *muthās*—Bhetimendi and Tuniāmendi, the dominant stock in the latter being the Bengri, and in the former the Bheti. They are found directly to the south of the Tin Pāri, and have an interesting history. They are an offshoot of a parent stock of the Noso Goro in Daspallā. *Noso* in Oriyā dialect means the nine cremations. A tradition says that nine families died suddenly in

the valley of the Noso Goro, and there were nine cremations. The remainder fled in terror and became *bengchi* or *bengri*, *i.e.*, dispersed, thus forming the Bengri sept. Some, however, returned to the Noso Goro valley, and having settled (*buiche*) on the hill overlooking the valley, became the Buiche Gondā. Others ran away (*nārji*) for a short distance, but came back on seeing the others on the hill and formed the Nārji Pongā sept. The main body of the Bengri went in a *dol* (band) and settled in Dolparā, a village in Tuniāmendi *muthā* and the stronghold of the Bengri sept. This village is now called Nārji Pongā to distinguish it from the parent village in Noso Goro. The people of the Nārji Pongā and Buiche Gondā villages are of the same blood and will not intermarry.

The story of the origin of the second main sept, the Bheti, is as follows. Many generations ago, the people of Kādopadā in Athmallik, which Major Macpherson writing in 1841,* said "was lost to Baud three generations ago," shot an arrow across the Mahānadī into the hills beyond, and afterwards went in search for it. Whenever they came to a village and could not find the arrow, they set fire to the houses with the *bheti* (torch). The explanation of this legend seems to be that the ancestors of the Bhetis burst into the hills of Khondmāls, and devastated the country by burning the villages with torches or fire-brands. Even at the present day a Khond of the Bheti stock is looked upon with peculiar fear and distrust as a person who can invoke and obtain the help of a powerful demon god—the tutelary deity of the stock—in committing arson. The totem of the Bheti stock is the *bheti*, a rope made of twisted straw, which, on being lit, smoulders for a long time, and furnishes fire to a people who have not yet learnt the luxury of using lucifer matches. The Bheti are found in two dominant septs, bearing the same name and admittedly of the same blood, in two different parts of the Khondmāls, in Bengrikiā south of the Tin Pāri, and in Bhet Dāngāri west of the Chhotā Pāju. Different families of the same stock are also scattered all over the country as far south as the Bāra Muthā and Athara Muthā districts in Gumsur. One powerful sub-sept in Bhetkhole in the Upar Chāro Kombo district has been agitating for some years to be constituted a separate administrative unit or *muthā* distinct from the *muthā* in which their group of villages lies.

The Ath Kombo or eight divisions are also known as the Upar Chāro Kombo (upper four divisions) and the Tal Chāro

* S. C. Macpherson, *Report upon the Khonds of the districts of Ganjām and Cuttack.*

Kombo (lower four divisions). They form a very loose confederacy of two communes, each of which is subdivided into four sub-communes. The federal chief of the Ath Kombo is styled the Bara Kunāro Kahanra, just as the federal patriarch of the Chhotā Pāju is known as the Mahā Mālikā. The Tal Chāro Kombo live in the plains of Baud; they speak the Oriyā language and are practically Oriyās. Human sacrifices are supposed never to have been offered in their country, and consequently "the ground is still raw and full of ghosts and evil spirits, which mercilessly afflict human beings and domestic animals with all kinds of diseases and calamities."

The Upar Chāro Kombo, also called the Rattābāri Khonds, dwell in the broken country on the edge of the Khondmāls plateau and bear the nickname of thief, because they used to sweep down on the valley of the Mahānadī, which has been for ages the high road between Central India and Orissa, and plunder the pilgrims on their way to Jagannāth. Major Macpherson found the Rattābāri Khonds greatly addicted to human sacrifices.* Even at the present day, there is an idea among the Khonds of the adjacent communes, that the rite is carried on in secret in the deep ravines in which the hamlets of the Upar Chāro Kombo are situated. To the south-west of the Upar Chāro Kombo is found the confederacy called the Tin Kombo or three divisions, which include a number of different septs with different totems.

* S. C. Macpherson, *Report upon the Khonds of the districts of Ganjām and Cuttack.*

CHAPTER V.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

CLIMATE.

The district has an evil reputation for unhealthiness, due to the fact that a large part of the country is still uncleared and covered with jungle, while changes of temperature are sudden and strike down the unacclimatized and thinly-clad natives of the plains. High hills thickly wooded running in all directions, extensive marshes growing paddy, deep and dense jungles with a soil charged with decaying vegetable matter, under a cover of luxuriant vegetation almost impenetrable to light, heat and air, and with profuse sub-soil moisture, all combine to produce a most unhealthy climate. The effects on a stranger may be gathered from the following remarks recorded by an Indian medical officer sent there on special duty. "Its evil influences have marked every constitution, and a new-comer must pass through a trying ordeal of repeated attacks of high fever before he can find rest. His constitution by that time is thoroughly broken down; he looks half of his former self and despairs to regain his vigour and spirit as long as confined in this dreadful hole." The Angul subdivision is, however, more open and better watered, especially in the east and north, and has a better climate than the Khondmāls, where hill and jungle reign supreme. The latter tract is so unhealthy that outsiders fear to visit it, and it is reported that the ordinary Oriyā of the plains regards service in it as almost equivalent to a death sentence.

The general level in this part of the district is well within the fever zone, and malaria is prevalent. Fever of this kind is the commonest disease, and claims the largest number of victims, either directly or through the many complications which result from frequent attacks of it. No one, it is said, escapes it, not even the Khonds, and there are very few constitutions that can withstand its attacks. The drainage of the subdivision is excellent, however, all the surplus water being rapidly carried away by the larger streams into the plains of Baud. Some of the hill tops, moreover, are distinctly above the ordinary zone of cloud and mist, and would probably be found to be less unhealthy than the valleys,

The Angul subdivision is regarded as healthier than the Khondmāls, but it would be more correct to describe it as only less unhealthy. Malaria is almost equally prevalent, and skin, ear and eye diseases, rheumatism, dysentery and dyspepsia are common. The disease last named is a very obstinate ailment in these parts, and appears to be a concomitant or consequence of low fever, which is very insidious in its appearance. It never exceeds a degree above normal, and while it renders its victim slack and undermines his health and his digestion, he remains ignorant of the fact that his ailments are due to fever and fever alone. It is only when he takes his temperature several times daily that he discovers he has chronic low fever, and when this fever is eradicated, the so-called chronic dyspepsia also disappears. The headquarters station, however, which is located in fairly open country, is on the whole healthy; and any one staying there, without having to tour about in the district, could keep his health with little difficulty. The climate tells most upon officers during the first two years of their residence in the district, and after that they become fairly well acclimatized.

SANITATION. The sanitary ideas of the people are very primitive. Their houses are mere huts, built close together and scarcely raised above the ground. They have no windows, and the doors are very low, so that even during the day-time the interior is extremely dark. These huts are not, however, ill-ventilated, as free perflation of air is secured by a small space left between the thatch and walls. The interior is kept clean and tidy, and the floors and walls are regularly plastered; but the surroundings of the houses are filthy, accumulations of cow-dung and dirt being found close to every house. The village sites are also frequently low-lying, being near a marsh or on the same level with it; during the rains they are flooded, and streams may be seen flowing through the main streets.

WATER-SUPPLY. There are three sources from which the people obtain their supply of drinking water, viz., tanks, wells and hill-streams. Most of the tanks dry up in the hot weather or become very shallow; the villagers ease themselves along the banks, and both they and their cattle bathe in them; the consequent pollution is obvious. The water obtained from wells is also frequently impure, as no steps are taken to protect them from surface contamination, and washings from the villagers' homesteads find their way into them. The hill-streams are invariably small, and though they swell in sudden freshets during the rains, they become shallow after a few hours. In the hot months they dry up entirely, and the people obtain their water from small pits

made in their beds. In order to improve the water-supply Government makes a grant of Rs. 2,000 per annum for sinking masonry wells, on condition that the people themselves contribute a portion of the cost.

VITAL STATISTICS.

Vital occurrences are not registered in Angul, and it is therefore impossible to give statistics showing the mortality caused by different diseases or the number of births and deaths occurring each year.

PRINCIPAL DISEASES.

Fever.

Malarial fever is notoriously prevalent, especially in the Khondmāls, and it is a popular saying among the Oriyās that for fever all Orissa makes its *salām* to the Khondmāls. It prevails more or less in every year, the largest number of cases occurring in the rainy season and just after its close The forms most commonly observed are tertian and quartan. Most of the people coming to the dispensaries for medicines complain that they suffer from *barapāli* (long interval) fever, meaning that the fever recurs at an interval of two days, and *sānapāli* (short interval) fever, *i.e.*, fever every alternate day. Remittent and continued fevers are also frequently seen, but malaria cachexia is almost unknown. The people generally have taken readily to the use of quinine, and during the intervals of fever come long distances to the dispensaries and post offices to obtain it. The headquarters station of Angul is comparatively free from malaria, and also those parts of the district which have been denuded of forests, but it is very prevalent in the tracts still under forest, and it is common for officers and their servants to be attacked while on tour in those tracts or as soon as they return. Though the district bears such an evil reputation for malaria, the number of deaths among the local inhabitants is not believed to be very great, and residents from other districts suffer far more.

Cholera.

Sporadic cases of cholera occur almost every year, and the disease occasionally breaks out in epidemic form. The people have a horror of this disease and are panic-stricken when an epidemic breaks out. In the famine of 1889, when the first death from cholera occurred at Angul, the town was deserted by all newcomers within a few hours, while the residents shut themselves up in their houses and no one would venture out after dark. When it spread into the interior, almost all communication from village to village was stopped, and the panic continued throughout the whole course of the epidemic. One of the most serious outbreaks in the Khondmāls occurred in 1900, when it made its first appearance for many years. It was introduced by persons fleeing from an epidemic in the adjoining States of the Central Provinces and spread with appalling rapidity, causing great mortality.

Dysentery and diarrhœa. Dysentery and diarrhœa are common complaints owing to the impure supply of drinking water and the nature of the food commonly consumed. The food of the people consists very largely of jungle products, such as roots, fruits and fibres, many of which are harmless and form a substantial dietary, as they contain a large quantity of farinaceous substance; but when there is any scarcity, they are taken without any mixture of rice or other food-grains, and being eaten in large quantities, bring on severe bowel complaints.

Syphilis. A disease known locally by the name *bātphut* broke out at Balandāparā in the rainy season of 1900. A medical officer was specially deputed to investigate the disease and reported that the outbreak was one of virulent syphilis, spreading rapidly among a tribe among whom it was probably introduced for the first time, and aggravated by the low state of health brought about by famine conditions. One terrible feature of the outbreak was the number of children affected, over half showing marks of having suffered from the hereditary state of the disease, while in nearly every family attacked one or more had succumbed to its ravages in childhood or infancy. In order to bring relief to the people, who had never before received any efficient medical treatment, an out-door dispensary was established at Balandāparā. The disease appears to have been introduced from the Sonpur State, and is now extraordinarily prevalent in some villages, almost all the inhabitants suffering from it in some stage or other.

Infirmities. Insanity is not a common infirmity, for the census of 1901 showed that only 16 males per 100,000 and 3 females per 100,000 were insane. The statistics for blindness, leprosy and deaf-mutism are not so satisfactory, 96 males and 95 females per 100,000 respectively being returned as blind, and 77 males and 39 females per 100,000 as lepers, while the proportion of deaf-mutes was 66 and 39 respectively.

VACCINATION. Vaccination is not compulsory, but has made fair progress among the primitive people who inhabit the district. Inoculation was formerly universal, and there was a strong prejudice against vaccination, but this has been gradually overcome, though it occasionally reappears. Arm-to-arm vaccination is not resorted to, and is very unpopular owing to the prevalence of syphilis, while calf vaccination is objected to, and attempts to introduce it have failed. In 1906-07, nearly 9,000 persons were successfully vaccinated, representing 46·30 per mille of the population—a percentage higher than in any district of Bengal except Murshidābād and Darjeeling—and in the preceding 5 years the average annual ratio of successful operations was 36 per mille. A

noticeable feature in the returns is the large proportion of cases of revaccination, which shows the change that has been effected since 1895-96, when it was reported that "it may be taken for granted that vaccination has been almost entirely confined to the infant population, and that the adults as well as children of five or six years of age and upwards have up to date managed to evade the vaccinators. The elders continue to prefer inoculation, which has been strictly prohibited, but which is probably still resorted to secretly."

MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS.

There are three charitable dispensaries maintained by Government in the district, situated at Angul, Phulbāni and Balandāparā. The dispensary at Angul has beds for six male and four female patients, and the other two dispensaries afford out-door relief only.

The marginal table sufficiently shows the increasing popularity of the medical treatment given at these institutions. Arrangements have also been made for the sale of quinine by school teachers at selected places in the interior, and three Civil Hospital Assistants have been appointed, one as Inspector and two as Sub-Inspectors of Vaccination, who are intended to help the Deputy Commissioner and Subdivisional Officers in sanitary work as well as to afford out-door medical relief to the villagers.

YEARS.	AVERAGE ANNUAL NUMBER TREATED.	
	In-patients.	Out-patients.
1890-94 ...	82	5,935
1895-99 ...	78	5,957
1900-04 ...	103	12,520
1906 ...	102	16,885

CHAPTER VI.

FORESTS.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION. THE Government forests in the Angul subdivision extend over an area of 613 square miles, viz., 229 square miles of reserved and 384 square miles of protected forest; and in the Khondmāls there are 500 square miles under forest, which is neither protected nor reserved. Those forests in which conservancy has been introduced form a belt in the south and west of the Angul subdivision, extending northwards from the Mahānadī river. The tract they occupy is intersected by a number of hill ranges, running more or less from south-east to north-west and rising to an altitude of 2,000 to 2,700 feet. These ranges form a watershed between the Mahānadī river and the Brāhmanī, and between them are broad expanses of level or slightly inclined country between 300 and 1,200 feet in elevation. The slopes on the hill ranges are generally moderate, but some peaks and ridges are very rocky and precipitous. The rocks, of which the hill ranges are for the most part formed, are of metamorphic origin, gneiss and quartzite being the commonest. The soil from a forest point of view is, as a rule, deep and fairly fertile in the valleys and also on some of the hill ranges; but on many of the hill-sides and in some of the level tracts between, especially in the protected forest area, it is shallow and hard, being composed to a great extent of calcareous concretions unfavourable for tree growth; inferior species, such as *aunlā* (Phyllanthus Emblica), *piāl* or *chārā* (Buchanania latifolia), *khair* (Acacia Catechu), and the *salīā* bamboo (Dendrocalamus strictus), generally affect such areas.

The forests, both reserved and protected, are essentially of the evergreen type, though the growth on the outer hills and ranges is composed principally of the following deciduous species:—*sidhā* (Lagerstrœmia parviflora), *dhaurā* (Anogeissus latifolia), *mahuā* or *mohuia* (Bassia latifolia), *kendu* (Diospyros

This chapter has been compiled mainly from notes communicated by Mr. T. I. Pocock and Mr. R. G. A. Hannah, Extra Assistant Conservators of Forests, formerly in charge of the Angul Forest Division.

melanoxylon), *baherā* (Terminalia belerica), *kusum* (Schleichera trijuga), and those mentioned above. Throughout the greater part of the forest tract *sāl* (Shorea robusta) is the principal tree, but in most parts the following valuable timber trees also occur associated with it in greater or less abundance, viz., *piāsāl* (Pterocarpus Marsupium), *sisū* (Dalbergia Sissoo), *bandhan* (Ougeinia dalbergioides), *āsan* (Terminalia tomentosa), *kuruma* (Adina cordifolia); besides these *kongra* (Xylia dolabriformis) is met with in places. The Dendrocalamus strictus bamboo is common, and the variety known as Bambusa arundinacea is abundant in many depressions to the detriment of other growth. Most of the other inferior species of the deciduous forest zone are also represented.

Sāl rarely occurs quite pure; its density increases and its growth improves greatly as one proceeds from west to east. In the Durgāpur Range to the north the tree at present is of little account; but where conditions are favourable, it attains a height of from 80 to 100 feet and a girth of 7 to 8 feet, and in exceptional cases of 13 feet. *Piāsāl* and *bandhan* trees with a girth of 5 to 7 feet are common. The eastern or Raigodā Range, which comprises but a small part of the total area, is *sāl* country of the best kind and is said to compare favourably with the *sāl* areas in the Duārs and Tarai. Over considerable areas, where conditions are suitable, the advance growth of seedlings and saplings of the principal species is luxuriant. The principal minor products are bamboos, *sabai* grass (Ischoemum angustifolium), which is found chiefly in the north and west, thatching grass, creepers, mangoes, various roots, which the villagers are permitted to collect without any restriction, and elephants, by the sale of which a fair amount of royalty is realized.

The reserved forests comprise three ranges or units of administrative charge, the Raigodā, Bāghmundā and Durgāpur Ranges containing seven separate reserves as shewn in the marginal table. The first two are contiguous and comprise the two chief ranges of the same name; while the remaining five detached blocks form the Durgāpur range. The first six blocks have been reserved since 1884, and the Durgāpur block since 1885. The Durgāpur Range is the northernmost, while the Bāghmundā Range lies in the middle, and the Raigodā Range is the southernmost and also RESERVED FORESTS.

Name.	Area in square miles.
Raigodā	46
Bāghmundā	130
Shilipathar ...	10
Katarā	12
Antulia Tābadā ...	9
Konloi	8
Durgāpur	14
Total ...	229

the most easterly; the two latter Ranges touch the Mahānadī river. They are surrounded on all sides, except the east, by the forest-clad hills of the Tributary States, from which destructive fires often spread during the dry weather.

These forests may be described as dry forests, in which three distinct types are distinguishable, while *sāl* (Shorea robusta) is the principal species. The first type consists chiefly of *sāl* of the better kind (as to growth, size and shape), and generally contains little bamboo. This type occurs in the valleys and gentler slopes. The second type also consists chiefly of *sāl*, but it is of stunted growth, the trees being ill-shaped and often unsound, while bamboo is generally abundant. This type occurs on rocky inaccessible ridges and steep slopes. The third type consists of mixed forest containing trees of the species already mentioned, generally with an abundant growth of bamboo. This type is found on all the drier and steeper slopes.

Management. The reserves have been under the management of the Forest Department since 1884. Till 1891 they formed a subdivision of the Orissa Forest Division, but since then, they have formed a separate Division under the charge of an officer of the Provincial Forest Service. The three Ranges of Raigodā, Bāghmundā and Durgāpur, which have an area of 46, 130 and 53 square miles respectively, are each in charge of a Range Officer, who is assisted by one or two Foresters and a staff of Forest guards, stationed at different localities. After the forests came under the management of the Forest Department, operations were confined till 1897-98 to the extraction of *sāl* logs, poles and sleepers, trees being cut in one form or another of selection fellings. From 1897-98 efforts were made to dispose of *sāl* and *piāsāl* trees marked under a selection system by sales to purchasers under permits, whilst dead and unsound trees were disposed of to a small extent elsewhere In 1903 a plan of improvement and selection was started throughout the central or Bāghmundā Range, on a rotation of 10 years, and in the eastern or Raigodā Range, selection fellings on sylvicultural lines have been and are still being carried out, pending the completion of a working plan; the bamboo forests are also being worked on a triennial rotation since 1903-04. As already noted, a working plan for the systematic exploitation of the reserves under selection and for improvement fellings is under preparation. Timber and minor produce are cut and collected under permits or passes, and prior to their removal from the forest, are checked with the permits issued, on which are recorded

the quantity and kind of produce to be removed and the royalty paid thereon.

The principal demand at present is for *sāl* timber of the best kind, while from one to two million bamboos are exported annually by purchasers, and *sabai* grass, which is found to a moderate extent, is leased out for a fixed sum. Practically the only line of export is the Mahānadī river, the produce (timber, bamboos and *sabai* grass) being conveyed along it in boats and rafts to the Cuttack market, whence some portion of the timber is sent to Calcutta and a portion of the bamboos to Purī. The revenue is chiefly produced by the Raigodā and Bāghmundā Ranges; the Durgāpur Range, which contains younger and inferior forests, being too far from the line of export to allow profitable exploitation on any large scale. The revenue is small, owing to the difficulty in getting the produce to market, and gives no indication of the real value of the forests.

Relations with the people. The bulk of the inhabitants of the district are cultivators residing at such distances from the reserves that up to the present they have made little or no use of them; while the villagers living in their neighbourhood or in the villages enclosed within them, have access to relatively large tracts of protected forests, in which they are allowed to exercise certain rights. Hence, the local demand has so far been limited to a small number of bamboos and an insignificant amount of small timber and firewood. It is probable, however, that the exhaustion of some of the protected forests, and the cessation of the practice of granting produce free to villagers who have not forests in their own lands, will lead to a greater dependence on the reserves. The people living in and round the forests are little inclined for forest work, and difficulty is consequently experienced in obtaining labour.

Sanction has been given to the opening of 11,020 acres of reserved forest in the Bāghmundā Range and of 3,671 acres in the Durgāpur Range for the grazing of a limited number of cattle. Further areas have also been set apart in these ranges for the grazing of cattle in years of drought, while areas for the supply of fodder have been decided upon and set apart to meet a possible demand. Tanks are also being excavated in suitable localities, close to grazing grounds, for the storage of water for cattle during years of drought. In times of scarcity the aboriginal races and poorer classes are admitted into the forests, without let or hindrance, to collect roots, wild potatoes, yams, fruit and other edibles (of which there is an unlimited supply) for their personal consumption.

Protection. Fire conservancy has been in force since the forests were constituted reserves. The measures adopted consist of cutting external and internal boundary lines yearly to a width of from 20 to 40 feet and burning the cut grass and other vegetation stacked along them, of clearing in the same manner a few interior fire lines or traces 30 feet in width, and of the appointment of a large staff of fire patrols or watchers during the fire season, which usually extends from the middle of March to May. These measures have, however, been only partially successful in certain tracts, the average area burnt during the 16 years ending in 1903-04 having been 9,293 acres or 5·75 per cent. of the total area attempted. The most serious fires have originated in the Tributary States adjoining the Angul district, but recently more effective measures for the prevention of such fires have been introduced in consultation with the chiefs of the States concerned. The forests being, at present, closed to grazing of every description, except over limited areas in the Bāghmundā and Durgāpur Ranges, no special precautions are necessary to protect them from cattle. The Indian Forest Act (VII of 1878) and the rules under the Act are in force and are carefully observed by the people; only a few trivial cases of theft and illicit fellings occur, and these are usually compounded for small sums, recourse seldom being had to the courts.

Statistics. The following statement shows the average outturn of forest produce, revenue realized and expenditure incurred annually during the 10 years ending in 1904-05:—

Division.	Timber.	Fuel.	Total.	Minor produce.	Revenue.	Expenditure.
	C. ft.	C. ft	C. ft.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Angul ...	63,067	566	63,633	2,100	8,749	17,321

PROTECTED FORESTS. When it was decided to create the reserved forests, it was directed that the boundaries should everywhere be demarcated so as to exclude a sufficient area of waste land round the village cultivation. The principles laid down were that not only village areas, but existing *toila* cultivation, except perhaps such small plots as were within large forests, should be altogether excluded by very wide boundaries, and in addition to the lands under regular cultivation or otherwise in use, a sufficient area should be left round each village for extension of cultivation; that each block of reserved forest should be as compact and its boundary line as straight and well defined as possible, so that the people might

have as little difficulty as possible in distinguishing the reserves from the village lands; that *jangalburi* tenures, whether cleared or not, should be altogether excluded from the reserved forest; and that culturable forest lands should be distinctly marked, so that, when cultivation had to be extended, they might be excluded from the forest areas. Unfortunately, these principles were neglected in practice, and the result may be realized from the following report submitted by an officer placed on special duty in the famine of 1889.

"Before forest conservancy was established in the estate, many people who had no arable land used to clear forest land and cultivate *bidli* paddy, other early rain crops, and also oil-seeds. They paid no rent, but they obtained a certain quantity of food for themselves, instead of begging or stealing from their neighbours; and they sold their oil-seeds to purchase cloth or exchanged them for rice, as these people never cultivated sufficient food-grain for a whole year's consumption. When the rigid rules of the Forest Department were enforced, this source of their food-supply was stopped. The landless classes and the poor semi-wild tribes living in small villages in or near the forests used also to earn something by cutting bamboos and timber. Large dealers used to obtain passes from the *tahsil* office on payment of certain fees, and give advances of money or grain to the people, who used to contract to deliver a certain number of bamboos and logs at the river bank. Other dealers used to give advances for the collection of honey, bees' wax and other forest produce. The low castes used to kill wild animals in the forest, dry the flesh, and store it away against times when fresh food was not easily procurable. They also collected roots and fruit in the forests without any restriction, and cattle grazed in the forests free of expense to the owners. The Dhobās (washerman caste) used to make charcoal in the forest for sale. Blacksmiths, who make and repair agricultural implements, and Lohārs, who manufacture iron for those implements, used also to obtain the charcoal and ironstone from the forests free of expense.

"It will be seen from the above that before the Angul forests were closed and placed in charge of the Forest Department, a large number of people used to frequent them for the purposes mentioned, and herds of cattle were grazed in them; consequently, wild animals were so much disturbed that comparatively few remained in the forests. But since the closing of the forests, wild animals (especially elephants coming over from the forests of the surrounding States) have become so numerous and bold, that all the crops in and near the forests suffer seriously every year.

The Khonds and other classes have thus not only been deprived of means of obtaining a livelihood by miscellaneous work, but they have also been discouraged in their early efforts to subsist entirely by the cultivation of the land. The means of living by forest produce having been taken away from them, their small plots of food-crops having been destroyed partially or totally by wild animals, when the general crops of the country fell so short as to cause the whole body of the cultivating classes to use the most rigid economy in their consumption of food, the aboriginal and landless classes necessarily starved. Privileges, if I may not call them rights, enjoyed by the people of Angul in the forests ever since the estate came into the possession of Government, and perhaps for many years before, were not of much money value, but they enabled the people to live."

This view of the situation was confirmed by Sir John Edgar, who reported in 1889 that cultivated lands and orchards had been included in the reserved forest, and that, in spite of the efforts of civil officers, no redress had been obtained by the cultivators; that sufficient land had not been left near villages to provide for grazing and extension of cultivation; that lands suited for *toilā* cultivation and of no value for forest purposes had been reserved; that the forest boundary had been run up to the verge of old established homesteads; that an attempt had been made to levy fees for the use of jungle lands outside the reserve; that the use of these jungles by the people had been interfered with; and that once flourishing villages had been abandoned owing to the pressure of the forest rules.

As a result of these representations, the whole question of forest conservation in Angul was examined. The Inspector-General of Forests, Mr. Ribbentrop, inspected the forests in 1893, and advocated that the policy to adopt was to encourage, rather than impede, the extension of permanent cultivation; to ultimately reserve the unculturable spurs and ridges; to gradually stop *jhūming*, and to prohibit it at once on slopes of a gradient of more than 15' or perhaps 12'; and to maintain a sufficient forest growth to provide the villagers with grazing and forest produce, and to act as an intervening barrier between permanent cultivation and the reserves. To carry out this policy, he recommended the creation in Angul of protected forests. A notification was accordingly issued in 1894, by which belts, 22 chains broad, round every village in the immediate vicinity of the reserved forests were excluded from the latter and constituted protected forests; and in 1899 another notification was issued declaring that all lands, the property of Government in the Angul

subdivision, except lands that had been included in the reserved forests or had been settled with cultivators and others or might thereafter be so settled, were protected forests; at the same time, definite rules were laid down regarding the rights of the Government tenants to use these forests.

The protected forests are under the direct control of the Deputy Commissioner, with the exception of 45 square miles situated within the reserves, the management of which has recently been handed over to the Forest Department.

CHAPTER VII.

AGRICULTURE.

ANGUL SUB-DIVISION.

General conditions.

THE Angul subdivision is a hilly tract, a large portion of which is still under forest. The south and west of the subdivision are made up of hills covered with dense jungle, while the north and east contain fairly open well-watered areas. Out of the 10 *parganas* into which it is divided, Tikarparā and Tainsi lie within the forest reserves and are infested with wild animals, Pānchgarh and Talmūl, are in a comparatively advanced state of cultivation, no jungle being left for fodder and fuel, while the remaining six are partly cultivated and partly under jungle. Much of the jungle land has already been brought under cultivation, but there is still a large area awaiting reclamation; and out of the 881 square miles comprised within the subdivision, only 246 square miles are under cultivation.

The cultivators are not entirely dependent upon their crops. A certain proportion of them, and the entire body of the landless classes, except those who follow some remunerative trade or occupation, subsist chiefly on maize, millets, jungle roots and fruits, which they supplement with a small quantity of rice. It is only during the harvesting season that the principal article of diet of these classes consists of rice; after that season is over, their food consists mainly of the fruit of the *kendu* (Diospyros melanoxylon) and *mahuā* (Bassia latifolia), and, when they are over, of the fruit of the palmyra palm, which carries them on till the early millets are harvested; on this they live until it is time to harvest the rice crop. All the year round the produce of the jungle forms no inconsiderable part of their diet, but its proportion is less during the rice harvest season.

Soils.

The soils of Angul vary greatly, being in some places sandy and porous, while in other places black cotton soil or laterite is found. They are classified according to composition as heavy clay (*khaliamāti*), clay (*matāl*), clayey loam (*kāla chikitā*), loam (*dorasā*), sandy loam (*bālīā chikitā*), loose sandy soil (*bālīā*) and red lateritic soil (*rangāmāti*). Rice is grown on all classes of soil except laterite, and the crops which do not require land retentive

of moisture on sandy and lateritic soils. The high lands, which form about three-fourths of the entire cultivable area, are cultivated mainly with early rice and various *rabi* or spring crops, such as *arhar*, *guga*, *birhi* and *kulthi*; while the low lands, which are more valuable, account for about a quarter of the area available for cultivation and are sown almost exclusively with paddy.

Classes of land.

There are four classes of lands, known as *sārad*, *harfasal*, *bāzefasal* and *toilā*, the meaning of which may be gathered from the following account of the way in which land is ordinarily brought under cultivation. First of all the jungle is cut and burnt on the land, which is then ploughed up, the ashes of the jungle being ploughed into it. It is then sown with early rice, cotton, or a pulse crop, and good harvests are produced for three years without any further manuring. Such newly reclaimed land is known as *toilā*. After three years, if the ryot is able to apply cow-dung or other manure, he does so, and the land, continuing under cultivation, is known as *bāzefasal*, which is simply reclaimed upland brought and kept under cultivation by manuring and careful tillage. If, however, the ryot is unable to apply manure, the land is allowed to remain uncultivated; in the course of time it lapses back into jungle, and after three or four years is again brought under cultivation by the process above described.

In *bāzefasal* land prepared in this way ordinary *rabi* and *bhadoi* crops, such as mustard, maize, and the castor-oil plant, are grown. If it is situated in the immediate neighbourhood of and intermingled with village sites, where it receives good manuring, it is known as *harfasal*, which is practically homestead land, while *bāzefasal* corresponds with the *bhīta* or uplands of Bihār. *Toilā*, as stated above, is land recently reclaimed from jungle, and may be high or low. Thus, if a ryot breaks up and reclaims low land, he may allow it to go out of cultivation, and in that case it still continues to be called *toilā*; but if he surrounds it with low banks or ridges, has it irrigated, and makes it suitable for paddy cultivation, it becomes *sārad* and is classed as such.

Sārad or rice land is further subdivided into three classes. The first class is called *nāli* or *bernā* and consists of low-lying land situated between ridges, within hollows, below dams and dykes, or near springs and water-courses; this is the best land for rice, as it always remains moist. The second class, which is called *dera* or *majhighātiā*, consists of land somewhat inferior in quality, situated on slopes or above the *nāli* land. The third class consists of land known as *pasi* or *dhipa*, *i.e.*, land on high

levels, which receives no irrigation and is entirely dependent on the rainfall.

Harfasal and *dofasal* lands are lands surrounding the village homesteads, on which double crops are grown, and include vegetable gardens, plantain groves, and *pān* plantations. *Bhadoi* crops, such as maize, *sawān* and *māndiā*, are first raised on lands of this class; when these have been reaped, tobacco, mustard, ginger, brinjals, onions, chillies, etc., are planted. *Bāzefasal* lands are generally situated in the vicinity of the village, and like *harfasal*, are usually manured. They grow single crops, such as maize, tobacco, brinjal, mustard, *sāru* or arum, and the castor-oil plant.

The *toilā* lands are the high lands, other than rice fields, situated at a distance from the village homesteads, which are sometimes allowed to lie fallow for a year or two in order that they may recover fertility. They are of three classes, viz., first class or *dofasal*, second class or *ekfasal*, and third class land consisting of sandy or gravelly soil, which is sown in alternate years. In land of the first class *biāli* rice and *harar* or *arhar* are sown together, and after the former is reaped, *birhi*, *kulthi*, or a *bhadoi* crop of *tila* (known locally as *māghi rāsi*) is sown. Sometimes also gram, coriander (*dhaniā*) and *muga* (Phaseolus radiatus) are sown as single crops. On second class *toilā* land *māghi rāsi*, *birhi*, *arhar*, *muga*, cotton and the castor-oil plant are sown; and on third class land *kulthi*, *māghi rāsi* and sweet potatoes (*kandmūl*), and to a very small extent *bhadoi* cotton are grown.

Among other terms current may be mentioned *hālpariā* or current fallow, *i.e.*, fields cultivated within the last three years, *purunāpariā* or old fallow uncultivated for over three years or upwards, and *jāikpariā* or culturable waste never cultivated but fit for cultivation.

Crops. The principal crops grown in the Angul subdivision are rice; maize; various pulses, such as gram, *birhi* (Phaseolus Mungo), *harar* or the pigeon pea (Cajanus indicus), *kulthi* or horse gram (Dolichos biflorus), *khesāri* (Lathyrus sativus), *kalāi* and *muga* (Phaseolus radiatus), and *chanā* or the field pea (Pisum arvense); different millets, such as *sawān* (Panicum frumentaceum), *kodo* (Paspalum scrobiculatum) and *māndiā* (Eleusine Coracana); oil-seeds, including mustard, *tila* or gingelly, also called *māghi rāsi*, and the castor-oil plant (*jarā*); tobacco, cotton and sugarcane. The most important of all these crops is rice, the greater part of which consists of *sārad* or winter rice grown in low lands, while a small proportion of the rice-cropped area is under *āsu* or

biāli rice, which is a *bhadoi* crop sown and reaped during the rains. About a quarter of the rice-cropped area is cultivated with an early variety called *laghu*, literally meaning light rice, which is a small variety grown on the second and third class *sārad* lands found on slopes and uplands; and about 70 per cent. is under the late *sārad* crop, which is mostly cultivated on the lowest levels. *Khesāri* is always grown with or after paddy on first or second class *sārad* land.

Though rice is the principal crop, other miscellaneous food crops, both *bhadoi* and *rabi*, play a very important part in the rural economy of the district, especially maize, millets and pulses. Angul is also noted for its produce of oil-seeds, *kalāi* and *kulthi*, etc., and large quantities are exported annually. *Tila* or gingelly is particularly a favourite crop, and it is a well-known fact that while the people of Angul, as a rule, abstain from selling rice as long as they can help it, they pay their rents and supply domestic wants by the sale of the *tila* and other winter crops. Among other important crops may be mentioned cotton, *birhi*, sugarcane and tobacco. Tobacco is grown largely on homestead land and is generally consumed locally, though some is exported, and the same is the case with molasses made from the local sugarcane; the latter crop is raised on first and second class *sārad* land and also on good *toilā* land.

The various operations of the agricultural year are briefly as follows. In April and May land is prepared for maize, *tila*, *sawān*, *māndiā*, *harar*, early rice and early cotton. In June and July these crops are sown in the prepared land; and in the latter part of July, in August and in part of September early rice (*biali*) and other *bhadoi* crops, including early cotton, *tila*, maize, *sawān*, and *māndiā* are reaped. In the latter months the puddling, weeding and transplanting of *sārad* and *laghu* rice are carried on. In the latter part of September and in October the land is prepared for the winter crop and is sown with the late cotton crop, castor-oil, *muga*, mustard, the second *tila* crop and tobacco. In November, in December and in the early part of January the *birhi* crop is reaped, then the *laghu* rice, and lastly the late *sārad* or winter rice; *chanā* is sown on the low *sārad* fields as soon as the *sārad* crop is cut. After reaping the *sārad* crops, the following crops are reaped, in the order given, during the latter part of January and the early part of February:—*harar*, *muga*, *kulthi*, mustard, the second *tila* crop, the castor-oil plant, and the late cotton crop; harvesting of this last crop goes on till March and April, when *chanā* is also reaped.

Irrigation. The rainfall in Angul, on which the paddy crop almost entirely depends, is capricious and often insufficient, and the storage of water is therefore a matter of primary importance. Artificial irrigation is practised by throwing embankments across the narrow valleys or along the slopes, the water which accumulates behind them being used for watering the fields below. There are altogether about 500 private tanks, the largest of which waters about 100 acres, and 16,000 acres of cultivation depend on them. Many of the dams and reservoirs, however, have silted up, and the greater portion of the *sārad* crop is dependent on the rainfall.

In order to supplement these sources of irrigation, three irrigation projects have been proposed, which contemplate the construction of dams across the Bauli, Poipāni and Bhālukhai, three hill-streams which are full during the monsoon season, but run quite dry by November or December. The two projects last named are small schemes which would irrigate a small area, but the Bauli scheme is a much larger one. The villagers at present utilize the water passing down the Bauli stream by making a dam across it and diverting the discharge into an artificial channel passing through the irrigated area. As there is no escape, the whole of the flood water passes into the channel, scouring it badly in places and rendering any regulation impossible. Dams (*bāndhs*) are thrown across the channel in suitable places to raise the water-level for irrigation, and there are also tanks within the cultivated area, intended to serve in times of drought, which usually occur in October when water is urgently needed for bringing the paddy to maturity. The area that is thus protected in years of drought is small; and on the whole, the system now practised is very crude, the whole of the flow-off from the catchment of the Bauli being neither economically nor properly utilized. It is accordingly proposed to construct a dam across the Bauli at a place a little higher up than the existing dam and to continue it to across the adjoining nullah called the Tākuā, so that the water carried down both of them can be utilized. The area of the catchment of these two streams is 35½ square miles and the irrigable area would be 5,200 acres, *i.e.*, the whole of the area at present under rice cultivation.

It may be added that Government possesses important rights in respect of irrigation, for it has been laid down by legislative enactment that Government shall be presumed, until the contrary is proved, to be entitled to the exclusive use and control of the water of all streams flowing in natural channels, of all collections of water, and of all tanks and irrigation *bāndhs*

constructed wholly or in part by Government, or at its expense, in any part of the district.

The Khondmāls subdivision consists of a network of hills and forests, interspersed here and there with small villages, with patches of cultivated land round them. The inhabitants are aboriginals, inhabiting small villages scattered among the hills and divided from each other by rugged peaks and dense forests. The area available for cultivation is thus comparatively small, and only about a quarter of the whole tract is under cultivation. The Khonds are, however, not entirely dependent upon the produce of their fields for their food supply. Even in ordinary years they live chiefly upon jungle produce during about 3 months of the year, and in other months it forms no unimportant part of their diet. From September to November they live chiefly on *saruān*, *māndiā*, *kuhuri*, maize, early rice, and other crops grown on the high lands and on the slopes of the hills. The late rice is harvested in December, and from that time till about the end of March it forms the chief article of diet, mixed with a considerable quantity of roots, herbs and fruits; while from April to August the people live chiefly upon natural products and game. THE KHONDMALS. General conditions.

Jungle products are used more or less throughout the year; but while the produce of the fields is largely depended upon from September to March and only a small proportion of jungle produce is mixed with it, during the remaining months of the year the proportion is reversed. The supply of jungle products used for food may be said to be almost inexhaustible. Their name is legion, but the most important are the mango and *mahuā*, which supply nourishing food in large quantities. Both the flower and fruit of the *mahuā*, tamarind seeds, bean seeds, the seeds of the jack-fruit, and arrow-root are preserved and used at all seasons of the year.

The area of low lands fit for wet cultivation in the small valleys between the hills is limited, and rice is therefore not grown to the same extent as in the Angul subdivision. The high lands, even up to the crests of the hills, are cleared for cultivation and produce various kinds of cereals, besides oil-seeds and turmeric. The late rice crop (*bara dhān*) and sugarcane are raised mainly in embanked lands in the valleys or on terraced slopes; and other crops are raised on high lands, which are either under permanent cultivation or are tilled under the *toilā* system described above, being temporarily cleared and cultivated for a few years until the soil is exhausted. The Khonds who inhabit this tract also largely follow the nomadic system Lands.

of cultivation known as *jhūm* or *dāhi*, cutting and burning the forest in the dry season and dibbling in their seeds when the rains break. At first, such lands are abandoned after a year or two, but as the population increases, this practice is modified, and the slopes are more regularly tilled, until eventually they are ploughed year after year without intermission.

Crops. The principal crop is the *bara dhān* or winter paddy, which is reaped in December, but besides this a considerable area is under *kandiā dhān* or highland winter paddy reaped in November, and autumn paddy called *dāhi dhān* or *āth dhān* reaped in September. The cereals and pulses include maize and millets, such as *pāmkuhuri* (Panicum miliare), *sauān* (Panicum frumentaceum) and *jhari* (Panicum colonum), which are reaped in August and September; *māndiā* (Eleusine Coracana) which is ready for the sickle in November and December; and the following crops cut in the cold weather:—*kuhuri* (Panicum miliaceum), *jandalā* (Sorghum vulgare), *kangā* and *arga* (Setaria italica), *kāṅkā* (Phaseolus acontifolius), *thengā* (Pannisetum typhoideum), *kulthi* (Dolichos biflorus), *kalāi* and *muga* (Phaseolus radiatus). Other important crops are tobacco, *tila* or gingelly, mustard, castor-oil, coriander and turmeric, which are either bartered for food-grains or supply the means of buying the same. The oil-seeds are harvested in the month of January and turmeric in March and April; the proportion of lands cultivated with these crops is about one-eighth of the whole, and all are grown on high lands. An important crop of cucumbers and gourds is also raised, and beans are cultivated largely, for the sake not only of their ripe seeds but also of the green pods, which are used as vegetables.

The Khonds grow but little rice except on the slopes of the hills, the majority of the good embanked rice lands being in the hands of Oriyās. They cultivate maize, millets, and oil-seeds; but the crop which they chiefly affect is turmeric, generally grown on the hill slopes in sandy soil. It takes two years to come to maturity, but it suits the disposition of the Khonds, as it requires little labour. The growth of this crop is almost a religious rite with these wild people, and it was to improve its colour and outturn that human sacrifices used to be performed. It is their chief source of income, as they export it in large quantities, bartering it for grain and salt to drivers of pack-bullocks, who come from Ganjām, Sambalpur, Cuttack, Purī and the Tributary States. Of late, however, they themselves have begun to take turmeric to other places for sale and thereby obtain fair money prices.

STATISTICS OF CULTIVATION.

The following table shows the normal acreage of the principal crops of the district and their percentage on the normal net cropped area :—

Name of crop.	Normal acreage.	Percentage on normal net cropped area.	Name of crop.	Normal acreage.	Percentage on normal net cropped area.
Winter rice ...	126,200	44	Wheat ...	100	...
Sugarcane ..	2,300	1	Gram ..	200	..
Total *Aghani* crops	128,500	45	Other *rabi* cereals and pulses ...	38,500	13
			Rape and mustard	3,000	...
Autumn rice ...	16,500	6	*Tila* (*rabi*) ..	26,500	9
Māndiā ...	3,200	1	Other oil-seeds ...	17,500	6
Indian corn	8,000	3	Tobacco ...	1,000	...
Other *bhadoi* cereals and pulses ...	13,500	5	Other *rabi* non-food crops ...	9,500	3
Other *bhadoi* food-crops	1,600	1	Total *Rabi* crops ...	96,300	33
Early cotton ...	3,300	1			
Tila (*bhadoi*) ...	8,000	3			
Other *bhadoi* non-food crops ...	1,000	...	Orchards and garden produce ...	7,000	2
Total *Bhadoi* crops	55,100	20	Forest ...	402,676	141

EXTENSION OF CULTIVATION.

During the last 50 years cultivation has extended rapidly in the Angul subdivision. At the settlement effected in 1855 the area under cultivation was returned at 85 square miles; at the settlement concluded in 1891-92 it increased to 215 square miles; and, as stated above, the cropped area is now 246 square miles and the area of culturable waste is only 21 square miles. Statistics showing the progress made in the Khondmāls are not available, but altogether 197 square miles are under cultivation and the area of culturable waste is 80 square miles. According to the agricultural statistics for 1905-06, out of the total area of 1,681 square miles comprised within the district, the net area cropped is 443 square miles, and the area available for cultivation, other than fallow, is 101 square miles, while forests account for 635 square miles, and the area not available for cultivation is 493 square miles.

IMPROVEMENT OF METHODS.

Government maintains a farm at Angul, where experimental cultivation is carried on. The seeds of successful crops are distributed among the cultivators, but the people are conservative and not inclined to change their present methods of agriculture. An Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition is also held annually at Angul, the object being to improve the indigenous arts, industries and agriculture of this district and the adjoining States.

This exhibition is said to have been useful in popularising new varieties of cotton, prizes being awarded for cotton grown from several kinds of seeds supplied by the Agricultural Department and distributed by the Agricultural Association.

CATTLE. The cattle are, on the whole, poor, mainly because they are allowed to roam at will and not properly looked after. Pasturage is abundant, but in many parts of the Angul subdivision the grazing grounds would be either insufficient or not fit for fodder in a year of drought. In such a year the only means of saving the cattle would be to drive them into the reserved forests, but there again there would be difficulties owing to a deficient water-supply. To guard against such an emergency, five tanks have been excavated in the reserved forests.

CHAPTER VIII.

NATURAL CALAMITIES.

THE district is liable to scarcity and famine when the rains fail, and within the last 20 years it has suffered once from famine, in 1889, and twice from scarcity, in 1897 and 1900. The effects of a failure of the monsoon are less disastrous than in other districts, for the people are not so dependent on cereal harvests as those in the plains, the products of the forests going far to help them in times of drought; but when, as in 1889, there is not only a failure of the rains but also of the *mahua* and mango crops, the distress is most severe. Unfortunately, moreover, there is no organized system of irrigation to counteract the capriciousness of the rainfall: the country is backward and the people are apathetic and indolent; and being the direct ryots of Government, they look to the latter to help them. On the other hand, the number of landless labourers is comparatively small, and the Khondmāls are less liable to suffer from scarcity than the Angul subdivision, for the rainfall is considerably heavier, no restrictions have been placed on the use of the forests, and this is one of the very few tracts in Orissa where the aboriginal tribes have been able to maintain their connection with the soil. LIABILITY TO FAMINE.

The following is a brief account of the periods of scarcity which have occurred within the last 20 years.

The first of these culminated in the famine of 1889. In the Angul subdivision there had not been a good harvest of winter rice during the previous four years, while that of 1887-88 was on the average not more than 6 annas and that of 1888-89 not more than 8 annas of a normal crop. Considerable distress was reported in the autumn of 1888, and some measures of relief were adopted, the most important of which was the relaxation of the forest rules; but a copious fall of rain in September so improved the condition of things that measures of relief were gradually discontinued, except that the forest rules were not reimposed. In spite of this rain, however, the rice crop was an indifferent one, and a large portion of the higher land was left untilled, for there was a great drought from October till the following May. The *mahua*, mango and palm crops failed both FAMINE OF 1889.

in Angul and the adjoining States, and early in the year the agriculturists found themselves unable to keep the field labourers in their service and discharged them. The latter were thus suddenly thrown out of employ, and were unable to find work elsewhere. In ordinary years they might have subsisted for some time upon the edible roots, fruits, etc., of the jungles; but unfortunately in this year jungle produce also failed or became very scarce. The labourers, therefore, being suddenly deprived of all sources of subsistence, could only be supported by special measures until a demand again arose for their services.

The majority of the cultivators were in far better condition owing to the stocks of grain they held in reserve, but some were reduced to abject want, having sold a considerable portion of their slender stock at high prices, to find subsequently that they had to buy grain for their sustenance at a much higher price. In many cases, they parted company with their last piece of gold or silver, with their brass ornaments, and with the last utensil of their household; and a few actually sold their plough-bullocks. The distress during the months of April and May and part of June was naturally at its height, there being no work available in the fields, while a severe epidemic of cholera broke out. In the latter part of June, however, rain fell, and there was fresh vegetation, and at about the same time organized measures of relief were set on foot. The hopes of the people revived; the landed classes obtained agricultural loans, the able-bodied labourers found work, the infirm or helpless of both sexes received gratuitous relief, and jungle produce became again procurable. In this manner the people continued to live till the maize and millet crops, which happily yielded a bumper outturn, were gathered. They were followed by the early rice crop, which was also an excellent one. By this time the labourers were getting their usual work, the price of food-grains had begun to fall, and relief operations were gradually reduced, until they were closed entirely in November, when the early winter rice crop was harvested.

In the Khondmāls, the distress was far less severe than in the Angul subdivision. The failure of crops was as great, and there was absolutely no rain from November till about the end of May. About the end of April the trees and plants in the jungles began to wither, the heat became intolerable, and tanks and other reservoirs of water dried up. The supply of the jungle products upon which the mass of the people had mainly to depend, also began to fail, and it was apprehended that, if the rains did not soon break, there would be a serious famine. Fortunately, however, before the end of May there was some rain,

which, though small and insufficient for agricultural purposes, revived the jungle plants and trees. In June there was a fall of rain which averaged 5 inches all over the Khondmāls, and the pressure was relieved. In spite of this, it was found necessary to start relief works, such as the building of rest-houses, and *dharmasālās*, and the cutting of jungle. There was, however, less pressure than in the Angul subdivision, and the condition of the people was very much better. This state of things was attributed to the fact that the forests in the Khondmāls are not reserved or protected, and the people were able to fall back on the supplies of game, edible roots, wild fruit, and other products of the jungle, which contribute so largely to the means of subsistence of aboriginal tribes.

Briefly, this, the greatest famine within the memory of the present inhabitants since the great Orissa famine of 1866, was due partly to the short harvests of 1887 and 1888, partly to the failure of the mango and *mahuā* crops in 1889, and partly to the effects of a long drought which prevailed from October 1838 to the end of May 1889, on account of which all grain was tightly hoarded for some months, and the labourers were deprived of employment. The total cost of relief measures in the Angul subdivision amounted to Rs. 36,430, including agricultural loans to the extent of Rs. 12,590. In the Khondmāls some difficulty was felt in selecting relief-works; for the only one which the Khonds will take up readily is cutting down trees and jungle, which naturally can only be allowed to a limited extent; and though they do not object to digging tanks and wells, that is a work difficult to carry on in many places during the rains. The measures organized for the relief of distress in this tract consisted chiefly in giving agricultural loans; making advances, which after the field season were to be repaid, not in cash, but in labour; providing work on roads and tanks for those willing to perform it; making advances to weavers; and opening centres for gratuitous relief on a small scale. The total expenditure amounted to only Rs. 7.620.

There was some distress in 1897 due to the partial failure of crops in the Angul subdivision. In 1896, the rainfall was favourable until the middle of September, but after that it ceased till November. The injury done to the winter rice crop by this sudden cessation of rain at the time when it was most needed was aggravated by the visitation of an insect-pest locally known as *mahua* (Leptocorisa acuta). The outturn of this crop was thus not more than 8 to 12 annas on the average. The distress caused by the partial failure of the rice crop was, **SCARCITY OF 1897.**

however, not great, and it was found sufficient to open a few relief-works and to advance Rs. 20,000 in loans.

SCARCITY OF 1900.

After this, the people had a series of bad years, owing to short crops, which exhausted their resources and culminated in general scarcity in 1900-01. This was most felt in the Khondmāls, specially by those who depended for their sustenance on jungle produce, such as yams and edible bulbs, the supply of which grew scanty in July. Famine conditions prevailed, loans were given to cultivators, relief works had to be opened, and gratuitous relief was given to the old and infirm and to those who were physically unfit to do any work. In the following year their condition generally improved, but in the next year there was a slight falling off. In the third year all signs of distress disappeared, and there was a marked improvement in their condition, which has continued to this day. They have mostly paid off their debts, their condition and standard of living have improved, and the higher classes of agriculturists now expend larger sums on luxuries, social ceremonies and wearing apparel.

CHAPTER IX.

RENTS, WAGES AND PRICES.

RENTS. Angul Subdivision.

THE Angul subdivision was formerly a Tributary State, which was confiscated in 1847 in consequence of the rebellion of the chief. Since that time it has been treated as a Government estate, the tenants holding their land direct from Government. The rates of rent hitherto assessed have remained unchanged for the last 50 years, having been fixed at the settlement concluded in 1855. At the next settlement, which took effect from the beginning of 1891, Government did not consider it expedient to enhance these rates in view of the large increase of rental obtained from the extension of cultivation; and the rates of 1855 were accordingly left intact, in spite of the enormous rise in the prices which the cultivators obtained for their produce. By this settlement the total rental was increased from Rs. 46,029 to Rs. 1,07,215, *i.e.*, by more than 100 per cent., but the increase resulted from changes in classification, and especially from the assessment of new lands brought under cultivation, the area assessed being 156,549 acres as compared with 56,947 acres in 1855.

The result was to shew that the following average rates of rent per acre were paid for different classes of land :—for homestead lands, Rs. 3-3 ; for land growing sugarcane, Rs. 3-2-9 ; for *sărad* or rice land, Re. 1-5-4 ; for *toilă* or newly-reclaimed land, annas 3-7 ; and for cultivable waste, annas 3-6. The *toilă* land, with an area of 83,342 acres, accounted for nearly half the area assessed, and consequently the average rate of rent all round was extremely low, being under 12 annas per acre on the cultivated area. Government, however, was of opinion that it would be unwise to increase the assessment further in view of the remoteness and inaccessibility of Angul, and of the fact that there was still a large area available for cultivation and that the resources of the people had been weakened by successive bad seasons culminating in the famine of 1889. The term of this settlement was fixed for 15 years, and in order to encourage cultivation Government decided to take only a progressive increase for *toilă* lands converted into rice lands during the currency of

the settlement, half rates being levied for such lands during the first 5 years, three-quarters for the next 5 years, and full rates for the last 5 years. These orders were, however, not carried out strictly, for it was found impossible to trace the lands thus converted from waste; and what was done was to take the difference between the ryot's old rent and his new rent as being the rent for new cultivation, and to levy half this rent for the first 5 years, three-quarters in the next 5 years, and the whole of it in the last quinquennium.

Settlement of rents. The term of this settlement expired in March 1907, and a re-settlement is now in progress, in the course of which several important changes have been introduced. The great difficulty of the settlement and administration of the estate hitherto has been the extraordinary multiplicity of rates, which is a legacy from the first regular settlement of 1855; there being no less than 25 different rates for rice land, 13 for uplands, 5 for *toilā* or recently reclaimed land, and 22 for homestead land. The existence of 65 different rates has naturally proved a great source of embarassment, and is now being replaced by a simpler and more intelligent system of soil classification.

The *sārad* or rice lands are divided into three classes—first, the low lands in the villages which obtain sufficient moisture to produce full crops in the great majority of years; second, the lands intermediate between the low lands and high lands, which produce good crops in ordinary years; and third, the higher terraced lands, which are almost entirely dependent on seasonable rainfall. The rates for these three classes are now being fixed at Rs. 2-5-6, Re. 1-9 and annas 12-6 respectively. These rates are very moderate, as land of the first class produces, on an average, 30 maunds of paddy per acre, of the second class 20 maunds, and of the third class 10 to 15 maunds.

The next division consists of the uplands, which are not suitable for rice cultivation, and these are divided into two classes—*harfasal* or the well-manured lands near the village homestead, which grow valuable *rabi* crops, and *bāsefasal* or uplands without any special advantages, but suited for ordinary *rabi* crops. The rates now fixed for *harfasal* lands are Re. 1-9 per acre and for *bāsefasal* annas 12-6 per acre.

Finally, there are the lands known as *toilā*, which have been recently reclaimed and are in process of being got ready for regular cultivation. These lands are divided into three classes, for which rents are being fixed at the rates of annas 6-3, annas 4-2 and annas 2-1 per acre, the rates being on the whole lower than at the last settlement, because it seems probable that the best land has

been reclaimed. Orchards are being assessed at the highest *toilā* rate, viz., annas 6-3, as they are laid out on the best *toilā* lands and are very profitable. Homestead lands have hitherto been rent-free in the case of resident ryots, while non-resident ryots have been charged rents varying from Rs. 3-2 to Re. 1 per acre, and non-cultivators have paid rates ranging from Rs. 8-4 to 12 annas. The resident ryots will still continue to pay no rent ; non-resident ryots will be charged Re. 1-9 per acre ; and in the case of non-cultivators it will be left to the Deputy Commissioner to settle annually such rents as may seem to be fair.

In some parts of the estate, especially in *parganas* Talmūl and Pānchgarh, lands were assessed at the last settlement at very low rates without any regard to the capabilities of the soil. This was due to various causes. In some villages the whole population were, through mistake, treated as *paiks* and allowed to hold at half rates. It is now found that there are only a few *paiks* in these villages, and land held by the remainder, who render no service, is being assessed at fair rates. Again in many villages, lands were treated as rent-free at the settlement of 1855, and though at the last settlement of 1892 the rent-free titles were declared invalid, the lands were assessed at the lowest rates of each class in order to avoid hardship. In these cases the rents are being levelled up to the moderate rates levied in the rest of the estate.

An important concession is being made to the tenants at the present settlement, to compensate them for their exertions in converting uplands into rice lands and in improving the quality of the latter; for it has been decided that, in the case of lands assessed to a higher rental, the enhancement shall be taken in two instalments, viz., one-half of the increase for the first five years of settlement and two-thirds for the remainder of the term. The amount of rent abated is, however, reimposable at the expiry of the period of the settlement.

Certain minor concessions are also being made in individual cases. Thus, the lands held by the Pāns are being assessed at the lowest rate for each class, whether *sārad*, uplands, or *toilā* land. This favourable treatment is allowed because the Pāns are a semi-criminal tribe, who make poor husbandmen, and it is specially desirable to encourage them to take up settled cultivation ; they cannot pay the full rents demanded from other tenants, and, if an attempt is made to compel them to do so, they will abandon cultivation and revert to criminal pursuits. First class *sārad* land is also being treated as second class land in the case of certain backward aboriginal villages inhabited by Gonds, Khonds, Mundāris, etc., who are also poor cultivators. Again, in the

Privileged rents.

villages known as Brāhman Sāsan, rents are being reduced by 12½ per cent., as they are held by Brāhmans who perform priestly functions, are poor cultivators, and have received concessions at every settlement. The same reduction is being made in the case of villages in *parganas* Taiusi and Tikarparā, where the crops are liable to considerable damage from the depredations of wild animals; and in accordance with custom, the *paiks*, who perform quasi-police duties and assist at the *kheddah* operations, are allowed to hold their lands at half rates.

Khondmāls. In the Khondmāls Government takes no rent for the land, but a voluntary plough cess is paid at the rate of 3 annas per plough; a fresh enumeration of the ploughs is made periodically. Under-tenants pay a kid and some liquor as a yearly contribution to such tenants as allow them to hold land; and produce rents are also sometimes paid, the usual proportion being a third or a half of the outturn.

WAGES. Practically the only skilled labourers are artisans, such as masons, blacksmiths and carpenters, brought from Cuttack and other places. A common mason earns a daily wage of 5 to 7 annas, while a blacksmith gets 3 annas, and a carpenter 3 to 7 annas; superior masons and carpenters are paid 8 annas a day, while expert blacksmiths receive a wage of 6 to 8 annas per diem. Local labourers are paid according to the rate prevailing, if employed by contractors, an ordinary cooly getting 2 to 3 annas a day; and if employed in field work by cultivators, they are paid in food and grain. Village artisans, such as blacksmiths, who make and repair plough-shares and other agricultural implements, and menials, such as washermen and sweepers, are allotted service lands, and also get in many places an allowance of rice and other grain at harvest time. This allowance is generally 10 seers of paddy per plough in the case of blacksmiths, and adult barbers and washermen get the same amount from each of their clients.

Field labourers are divided into two classes, *muliās* and *haliās*. *Muliās* are day labourers paid almost invariably in kind, and *haliās* are farm servants employed permanently by well-to-do cultivators; the latter are given a monthly allowance of 1½ maunds of rice, and at harvest time 15 maunds of rice, 2 pieces of cloth, and a rupee in cash, the whole representing a yearly wage of about Rs. 30. On the whole, the *haliās* are better off than the day labourers, who can get little employment from February to May, except in repairing houses; during these months they have to subsist on their own little crops, on wild roots and fruit, by cutting and selling bamboos and fuel, and by making and selling mats, baskets, etc.

The marginal table shows the average price of food-grains in seers and chittacks per rupee during the last fortnight of March in the three quinquennial periods which have elapsed since the formation of the district. It is said that there is no appreciable difference throughout the district in the price realized by the cultivators for their rice, but the returns of prices current show that the price at which it is retailed varies greatly, *e.g.*, on the 15th December 1906 common rice sold at Phulbāni for 18 seers per rupee (*i.e.*, Rs. 2-3 per maund), at Sankhpur for 12 seers, and at Angul for 11½ seers, while on the same date in 1905 it was sold for 19½, 16 and 13 seers per rupee respectively at the three marts. Generally, it is reported, the price of rice is higher in the Khondmāls than in the Angul subdivision, owing to the fact that in the former tract the areas available for rice cultivation are comparatively small. PRICES.

Year.	Common rice.	Wheat.	Gram.
	S. Ch.	S. Ch.	S. Ch.
1891-95 ...	20 0	8 6	15 0
1896-00 ...	15 12	7 14	15 6
1901-05 ...	16 13	8 0	10 0

CHAPTER X.

OCCUPATIONS, MANUFACTURES AND TRADE.

OCCUPATIONS. AGRICULTURE supports the great majority of the population, no less than 76 per cent. of the inhabitants being returned at the census of 1901 as dependent on it for their livelihood. Of the total number engaged in cultivation 35 per cent. are actual workers, including 100 rent-receivers, 33,000 rent-payers and 18,000 agricultural labourers. Altogether 15 per cent. of the population are supported by various industries, including 3,000 weavers, 2,000 basket and mat-makers, and a fair number of potters and iron-smiths. Commerce supports only one per cent. of the population; and among those engaged in other occupations, herdsmen, with a numerical strength of 3,000, are most numerous.

MANUFACTURES. The people of Angul are backward, depending solely on the produce of the fields and forests, and the natural consequence is that the manufactures of the district are of little importance. Such industries as there are consist merely of small hand industries intended to meet the simple needs of the villagers, such as making coarse cotton cloth, bamboo mats and baskets, reed mats and leaf mats, ornaments and utensils of brass and bell-metal, pottery, coarse sugar and molasses, axes, ploughs and other implements of husbandry. Catechu and tusser cocoons are obtained from the forests and are exported, as are also molasses; but the other products merely serve to meet a local demand and barely suffice for the villagers' requirements.

Cotton-weaving is carried on by the Pāns and by a few Tāntis, the fabrics woven by them being very coarse and of poor quality. The weavers are all poor and live from hand to mouth, and their work is on the decline. Baskets are made by Godrās, Hāris and Doms, and mats by Hāris, Doms, Pāns and Khairās; the Doms, both men and women, make excellent baskets and good palm-leaf mats. Rough axes, plough-shares and other agricultural implements are prepared by village blacksmiths; and brass and bell-metal ornaments, *lotās* and lamps by a caste called Kharurās. Efforts are being made to remove this industrial

backwardness. The fly-shuttle loom has been introduced in the jail at Angul with success; and an Agricultural and Industrial Exhibtion, held at Angul for the last 4 years, appears to have produced a perceptible improvement in some industries, such as the manufacture of iron, bell-metal and pottery.

Coal-bearing rocks crop up occasionally, and mica is found in the Khondmāls, but neither have ever been worked; laterite, sand-stone, limestone and gravel are, however, quarried, mainly for making and repairing roads, and iron is roughly smelted. In the north of the Angul subdivision, Dāmodar coal-bearing rocks crop up towards Chhindipadā, at a village called Pātraparā; and at another village, Kankurupāl, black shale may be seen in the bed of the stream. These are all out-crops of the large Tālcher coal-field. It is questionable whether the coal is of sufficiently good quality to repay the expense of working it, even supposing that there was a local demand or a railway, neither of which exist at present. Iron is found towards Chhindipadā, and is worked, on a small scale, by a local aboriginal caste of smiths. The iron is smelted in rough charcoal furnaces and bought by the village blacksmiths, who convert it into plough-shares and other agricultural implements. **Mines.**

The trade of Angul is insignificant, the people merely exporting their local produce in exchange for such commodities as they need. The exports from the Angul subdivision are chiefly oil-seeds, molasses, cotton and cereals, rice to a small extent, timber and bamboos from the Government forest, as well as tusser cocoons, catechu, hides and horns. These products are taken to Cuttack by small traders, who bring in salt, spices, piece-goods, kerosene oil, brass ware, *ghi* and dried fish for barter in the district. From the Khondmāls turmeric of a much valued quality is annually exported by traders, who come round annually with their pack-bullocks; other exports to Ganjām are oil-seeds and cereals, *mahuā*, hides, horns, wax, honey and shellac. The imports consist of the commodities already enumerated in the case of the Angul subdivision. **Trade.**

Commerce may be said to be still in its infancy, barter being the most usual method of exchange, though oil-seeds are sold largely for cash in the Angul subdivision, where the cultivators' rents are paid mainly from the money realized by their sale. The people have little or no commercial keenness, and the bulk of the import and export trade is in the hands of foreigners. Few merchants, however, have actually settled in the district owing to the deadly nature of the climate, and business is mainly carried on in the dry season by itinerant traders, who travel from

village to village with pack-bullocks laden with rice, salt and other imported articles, which they barter for the produce of the soil. The want of roads, especially in the Khondmāls, precludes the use of carts in most parts; but there is some cart traffic on the main roads, and this means of transport has been employed more extensively of late years in the Angul subdivision owing to the metalling of the road connecting it with Cuttack. Off the main roads, pack-bullocks and *bānghis* are in general use; there is also a certain amount of trade carried on by river, but this is confined to timber and other forest produce.

The bulk of the trade is with Cuttack, but the districts of Purī and Sambalpur and the adjoining Tributary States also share in it; the main trade routes being the Cuttack-Angul road *viā* Dhenkānāl, the Cuttack-Sambalpur road, the Russelikonda-Phulbāni road, and the Angul-Tikarparā road. In the Angul subdivision the chief centres of trade are Angul, the headquarters station, Sankhpur, Bāgdiā in the north of the subdivision, and Tikarparā to the south; in the Khondmāls the principal markets are Phulbāni, Bisiparā and Khejuriparā.

Weights and measures. The following scale of weights is in general use both in the Angul subdivision and the Khondmāls:—4 *tolās*=1 *pal*; 5 *pals*=1 *phuli*; 6 *phulis*=1 *bisā*. This is known as the *narāji* scale of weights; another, called the *kāthuā* or steel-yard balance scale, is also in use in the Angul subdivision, according to which 8 *tolās*=1 *pal*; 5 *pals*=1 *phuli*; 4 *phulis*=1 *bisā*. For measures of capacity the unit is the *mān*, which in Angul is equal to two-fifths of a Cuttack seer of 105 *tolās*; and other common measures are a *khandi*, which is equivalent to 8 seers, and a *bharan*, which is equal to 8 maunds of Cuttack seers. The following scale is current in the Angul subdivision:—1 *mān*=42 *tolās*; 1 *khandi*=20 *māns*; 1 *pudugo*=20 *khandis*; 1 *bharan* =2 *pudugos*. In the Khondmāls the scale is as follows:—1 *sulā*=15 *tolās*; 1 *lurā* or *mān*=2 *sulās*; 1 *arā*=2 *māns*; 1 *tāmbi* =2 *arās*; 1 *gauni*=2½ *tāmbis*; 1 *khandi*=8 *gaunis*, *i.e.*, 2,400 *tolās*. For measuring length the *hāth* or cubit is commonly used; it varies from 18 to 20 inches.

CHAPTER XI.

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

ANGUL may with justice be described as the most isolated and inaccessible district in Bengal. There is no railway in the district, and the nearest stations are Cuttack and Sambalpur, distant 64 and 106 miles, respectively, from the headquarters station. There is no navigable river except the Mahānadī, which flows for a short distance along the southern boundary of the Angul subdivision; and navigation even on this river is difficult owing to shoals, rocks and rapids, and to heavy floods during the rains. The first time that a steamer ever proceeded so far up the Mahānadī as Angul was in 1889, when Sir John Edgar, who had been placed on special famine duty in the Tributary States, succeeded in reaching Tikarparā in a steam-launch. This route was adopted as the most expeditious, the road from Cuttack being unmetalled and crossed by 25 unbridged streams, but, even so, it took four days to reach Angul from Cuttack, in spite of the special arrangement made. The two portions which comprise the district are also widely separated from each other; the Angul subdivision being surrounded by Tributary States, while the Khondmāls is divided from it by a belt of the Baud State, of which it once formed a part. The distance between Angul and Phulbāni, the headquarters of the latter subdivision, is no less than 87 miles, the road passing through wild hilly country and across the unbridged Mahānadī, so that in the rains it is most difficult to keep up communication. GENERAL ASPECTS.

The Angul subdivision itself is fairly well provided with roads, and is traversed by the Sambalpur-Cuttack road, the main highway of the Tributary States, but the Khondmāls have not yet been fully opened out. Wheeled traffic in that tract is mainly carried on to the south; for though there are four lines of communication on the north, a hill pass has to be surmounted on each, viz., the Kumārkhol, Pānisālā, Kundā and Metcalfe Ghātis. For many years past the construction of a branch railway between Sambalpur and Cuttack has been contemplated. Different routes have been surveyed, one alignment passing through the Angul subdivision, and another passing along the Sonpur road on the

south bank of the Mahānadī. The construction of this railway would go far to remove the present inaccessibility of Angul.

ADMINISTRATION OF ROADS. Expenditure on the construction and maintenance of road is provided from three sources, viz., (1) provincial funds, (2) the grant given for the management of the Angul Government estate and (3) an excluded local fund known as the Khondmāls Road Fund. Roads of the first class are maintained by the Public Works Department; they were formerly in charge of a District Engineer, but that post was abolished in 1903-04, and they were transferred to the control of the Executive Engineer, Akshuāpadā-Jājpur Division, who has his headquarters at Cuttack. The official returns shew that in the Angul division the Public Works Department maintains altogether 31 miles of metalled and 299 miles of unmetalled roads, but only 95 miles are actually within the district.

The length of roads maintained in the Angul subdivision out of the Government estate grant is 87 miles, of which 5 miles only are metalled. This grant is a small fund from which all kinds of works, including sanitary, agricultural and miscellaneous improvements, are undertaken, and the amount available for the construction of roads is not sufficient to open up the country. The Khondmāls Road Fund consists of the amount realized from the plough cess levied in that subdivision, to which Government adds an equal sum. Altogether 144 miles of village roads are maintained from this fund.

PRINCIPAL ROADS. The principal roads of the district are the Cuttack-Sambalpur road, which passes through the Angul subdivision, the road from Angul to Cuttack *viâ* Dhenkanāl, the road from Russellkonda to Phulbāni, and the road from Angul to the latter place *viâ* Tikarparā and Harbhangā, which is the main route between the Angul and Khondmāls subdivisions. All these roads are maintained by the Public Works Department, and, with the exception of the Cuttack-Angul road, are unbridged and unmetalled. Of the roads maintained from the Angul Government estate grant the longest is a road from Angul *viâ* Chhindipadā to Bāgdiā in the north of the subdivision. This road has a length of 31 miles; it is crossed by no less than 15 hill-streams, and though partially bridged, is unmetalled and is only a fair-weather road. Other important roads are those leading from Angul to the borders of the Hindol State *viâ* Mahīdharpur on the southern boundary (14 miles) and to Brahmapur *viâ* Sankhpur (13 miles), both of which are unmetalled and unbridged. In the Khondmāls subdivision the principal roads are those already mentioned leading from

Phulbāni to Harbhangā and Russellkonda; and the other main roads are those from Bisiparā to Kumārkhol (18½ miles), from Sāringiā to Balandāparā (16 miles), from Sāringiā to Kumārkhol (20 miles), and from Bairāgorā to Khejuriparā (10 miles).

FERRIES. There is only one ferry in the district situated at Tikarparā on the road between Angul and the Khondmāls, where Government maintains two boats in order to enable travellers to cross the Mahānadī.

STAGING BUNGALOWS. In the Angul subdivision the Public Works Department maintains inspection and staging bungalows at Angul, Bantlā, Jagannāthpur, Kanjrā, Katarā, Mahidharpur and Purunāgarh; the Forest Department at Bāghmundā, Pampāsar, Purunākot, Rāigodā, Tikarparā and Tulukā; and there are Local Fund bungalows at Chhindipadā, Durgāpur, Nuāhatā, Purunāgarh and Rāijharan. In the Khondmāls the Public Works Department maintains inspection and staging bungalows at Phulbāni, Rānīpathar and Sudrukumpā, and the Road Fund at Balandāparā, Balaskumpā, Berāngpāju, Bisiparā, Gochhāparā, Gumāgarh, Kalādi, Katrangiā, Khejuriparā, Krāndibāli, Kumārkhol, Nuāpadar, Nuāparā, Pairāju and Sāringiā.

POSTAL COMMUNICATIONS. There are 190 miles of postal communication in the district, and post offices have been opened at Angul, Phulbāni, Purunāgarh, Chhindipadā, Tikarparā and Mahīdharpur. The value of the money-orders paid in 1906-07 was Rs. 1,24,000 and of those issued Rs. 58,000; there were 909 deposits in the Savings Bank, the value of the deposits being Rs. 15,000. Postal telegraph offices have been opened at Angul and Phulbāni.

CHAPTER XII.

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION.

THE system of land revenue administration in the Angul subdivision is completely different from that followed in the Khondmāls. Angul being a revenue-paying tract under the direct management of Government, while the Khonds pay no revenue and are under tribal headmen. The system of administration in each of these two tracts will, therefore, be treated separately.

TRANSFER OF LAND. There are, however, certain features of administration common in both tracts. It has been enacted that no transfer of a tenure or holding is valid without the consent of the Deputy Commissioner or Subdivisional Officer; tenants are also protected from ejectment from their tenures or holdings, whether for recovery of public demands or in execution of decrees for civil debt, save, in the last resort, with the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner; and it is further laid down by law that for the recovery of demands the immoveable property of a ryot shall not be sold without the permission of the Deputy Commissioner. The latter has thus sole power to decide whether the defaulter's land shall be sold or the ryot be evicted and his lands settled with a resident tenant, who may pay up his arrears, and thus prevent an outsider coming into a village against the wishes of the community. These provisions are intended to prevent the lands of the Khonds and other aboriginals being bought up by interlopers. As the country is being opened out, adventurers and money-lenders are entering it in increasing numbers, and it is a matter of vital importance to prevent the transfer of land to foreign immigrants by the cultivators, who are simple, unsophisticated, and often unable to protect their own interests.

ANGUL SUBDIVISION. The following is a brief account of the system of land revenue administration in each subdivision.

Surveys and settlements. The Angul subdivision was formerly a Tributary State, but in 1847 the chief, having rebelled, was dethroned and the State confiscated. Since that time it has been treated as a Government estate. A summary settlement, based on the records found in the deposed Rājā's office, was made with the *Sarbarāhkārs* or village

headmen in 1848; in 1849 a regular settlement was made for five years, the revenue demand being fixed at Rs. 21,465; and in 1855 this was increased to Rs. 37,167 at a resettlement made for a period of 12 years. The term of this settlement was, owing to the great Orissa famine of 1866, extended for 20 more years, so that it should have expired at the end of 1887; but this period again was extended to the end of 1891, owing to the occurrence of five bad seasons in succession culminating in famine in 1889. It was accordingly directed that the resettlement should take effect from the beginning of 1892 and should hold good for only 15 years. At this settlement it was found that the assessable area had increased from 56,947 acres to 156,549 acres, *i.e.*, by 275 per cent., owing to the extension of cultivation; and the revenue consequently rose, without any alteration of rent rates, from Rs. 46,029 to Rs. 1,07,125.

The period of this settlement expired in March 1907, and the Government estate is again under survey and settlement. An account of the procedure adopted in this re-settlement has already been given in Chapter IX and it will suffice here to say that the area assessed has now increased to 157,812 acres and that it is expected that the total increase of rent will be between 15 and 20 per cent. The extension of cultivation since the last settlement has been small (1 per cent.), and the main reasons for the increase are the application of new rates and the conversion of *toilā* or newly reclaimed land into *sārad* or rice land and of inferior *sārad* into rice land of a better class. A large part of the improvement thus effected is due to the efforts of the ryots themselves, but Government has also spent nearly Rs. 27,000 on the construction of embankments since the last settlement; and lands are let out to ryots on the understanding that they will improve them between one settlement and another, and that at each settlement land will be liable to pay rent according to its class.

The Angul subdivision consists of two distinct parts, viz., reserved forests, and the Government estate, which is divided into 10 *parganas* as shown in the margin. these *parganas* also include the area of uncultivated land which has been constituted protected forest. Administration.

PARGANA.	SQUARE MILES.
Gondiberh	48·63
Khambākaūngā	69·98
Pānchgarh	84·06
Purunāgarh	18·87
Tainsi	24·80
Talmūl	65·84
Tarāsbis	61·13
Tikarparā	63·17
Tinidesh	56·94
Uparbis	195·95
TOTAL ...	688·82

The direct representatives of Government in the administration of the estate are the *Sarbarāhkārs*, who are responsible for the collection of the Government

revenue. There are three classes of *Sarbarāhkārs*, viz., (1) persons who collect the rents from the ryots and pay the amount due to Government after deducting a percentage allowed to them as remuneration for their services; (2) holders of *jangalburi* tenures, *i.e.*, leases granted for the reclamation of waste land; and (3) holders of resumed rent-free tenures. All the *Sarbarāhkārs* are Government servants and have the same powers and privileges, but the two latter classes receive a smaller percentage of the collections as remuneration for their services.

The right of appointing *Sarbarāhkārs* rests with Government, and in making appointments preference is given to relatives of a deceased or retired *Sarbarāhkār*, who has rendered good service, provided they are otherwise qualified. They are bound to collect in full the rents of their villages and other public demands, and to pay them into the treasury in four instalments by the 15th September, 15th November, 15th January and 15th March. They are liable to make good the whole amount due, whether they have actually collected it or not; but to give them reasonable assistance in recovering rents from defaulters, it has been enacted that any rent due to a *Sarbarāhkār* who has previously paid the amount to Government may be recovered as if it was a public demand due to Government. They are also bound to assist in police investigations, to arrange for the supply of provisions, at reasonable rates, to troops and Government officials, and to provide guards of *paiks* for the camps of Government servants. It is their duty to report all changes in holdings, serious damage or loss of crops, and the prevalence of diseases, and to assist in the maintenance of the records.

They are in charge of all Government property within the boundary of their villages, such as water-courses, roads, embankments, boundary marks, mines, minerals, etc., and of unsettled orchards, fruit trees and other trees, as well as of all unsettled and waste Government land; they are responsible that the latter is not broken up for cultivation without a permit. They are bound generally to look after the interests of Government and the welfare of the ryots; they may call *panchāyats* in all cases when both parties are willing to adopt this procedure, and have instructions to adjust all petty disputes in their villages by means of the arbitration of such *panchāyats*.

In return for these services, they are allowed a commission on the total rent-roll of the villages, and are entitled to one-eighth of the produce of unsettled fisheries, and to the rents of all new permanent or *toilā* cultivation during the term of the settlement,

i.e., they appropriate the profits accruing from the extension of cultivation during that period. They have no rights beyond those conferred on them by their engagements, and are liable to dismissal for misconduct.

Previous to the settlement of 1892, the tenants of the Government estate were divided into three classes, viz., (1) *thāni* ryots, (2) *chāndinā* ryots and (3) *pāhi* ryots. The *thāni* ryots were resident cultivators enjoying certain privileges from which the other two classes were debarred, paying no rent for their homestead land, and not being liable to ejectment or enhancement of rent by the *Sarbarāhkārs* or any other party so long as they continued to pay their rents. On the other hand, the *chāndinā* ryots, *i.e.*, the resident non-cultivators, occupying homestead land only, had in some places to pay exorbitant high rates of rent for the privilege of not being ejected, while the *pāhi* ryots or non-resident tenants were not only liable to enhancement of rents, but also to ejectment from their holdings by the *Sarbarāhkārs*. Since the settlement of 1892, the *Sarbarāhkārs* have been treated as collecting officers with authority to realize only a fixed demand and with no power to eject tenants. The latter, moreover, have been classified as settled and occupancy ryots, and under-ryots. The occupancy rights held by them are not transferable, and plots cannot be subdivided without the consent of Government, which is the landlord. **Tenants.**

Rent-free tenures fall under two divisions, viz., *jāgīrs* and *lākhirāj*. The *jāgīrs* comprise service lands granted to village servants, such as washermen, barbers and blacksmiths; and the greater part are held by *chaukīdārs*, whose services are remunerated by these grants; 1,114 acres of land were granted rent-free to 242 *chaukīdārs* at the settlement of 1892, representing on the average 5 acres for each *chaukīdār*. A small quantity of land is also held rent-free by *paiks*, who furnish a guard for the district office; and a larger area is held by Pān Sardars, *i.e.*, headmen who have been provided with lands on condition that they look after the Pāns in their respective *parganas*, prevent them from committing theft, and see that they gain an honest living. **Rent-free tenures.**

The *lākhirāj* tenures are nearly all lands set aside for religious purposes, such as *debottar*, *brahmottar*, *khairāt*, *pīrottar*, *dattānugraha* and *tanki-brahmottar*. The *debottar* tenures include land granted for the maintenance of the shrines of Jagannāth, Durgā, Somnāth Mahādeva, Nīlkantheswar Mahādeva, and Kukkuteswar Mahādeva. The *sebāit* or resident priest, who enjoys these grants, is liable to be ejected, if he fails to perform his duties as a priest and to take proper care of the shrine. The *lākhirāj* tenures

also used to include a certain quantity of land held by relations of the former Rājā, which have been gradually resumed as the original grantees died off.

Maintenance of records.

Special arrangements are made for the maintenance of the settlement records. The *Sarbarāhkār* is personally responsible for reporting all new clearances and changes in tenants' name, *e.g.*, owing to the death of a tenant, when his heirs will probably take up the holding; owing to a tenant leaving the village or relinquishing his holding, when the *Sarbarāhkār* will probably settle the relinquished area with another tenant or take it over himself; owing to the sale of a tenant's occupancy right, when the recorded purchaser's name will be entered; owing to the cultivation of culturable waste and jungle lands; owing to *toila* land being converted into *sārad* land, etc. The supervision and checking of the reports submitted by the *Sarbarāhkārs* rest with *Kānungos*, each of whom is in charge of a certain number of villages that constitute his circle; in the rainy season they are employed in assisting to write up the mutation registers of their circles at headquarters. The *Sadar Kānungo*, in addition to having charge of a small circle near headquarters, is responsible for seeing that all recognized and sanctioned changes are duly registered; while the Deputy Commissioner passes orders as to the mutation of names, the registration of changes due to new cultivation, and the assessment of plots to the rent of which Government is entitled.

The Khondmals.

In the Khondmāls there is a patriarchal system of administration. Each village is presided over by a headman called the Mālikā or Kahanra, assisted by the *chhātiā* or village policeman; and they are grouped together into 50 divisions called *muthās*, each of which is administered by an official called the Muthā Sardār, who is the intermediary between the Khonds and the Government, as it is his duty to communicate the wishes of the former to the Subdivisional Officer and to see that the orders of Government are duly carried out. The system is simple, is adapted to the character of the people, and works well.

No land revenue is collected, but the Khonds pay a plough-cess of 3 annas for each plough, a revision of number of ploughs being made periodically. To the sum realized from the cess, which is under Rs. 3,000, Government adds an equal amount; and the whole constitutes what is known as the Khondmāls Road Fund, which is devoted to the construction and maintenance of roads and other works of public utility in the subdivision.

This plough-cess is regarded as a voluntary subscription, and is collected voluntarily by the Mālikās and Sardārs of villages

and *muthâs*, who forego any remuneration for their services as collectors. Government has distinctly pledged itself to the people that this shall be considered as a rate or subscription voluntarily paid and not a tax or land revenue assessment. The terms of this pledge are contained in the following proclamation issued in 1875 by Mr. Ravenshaw, Superintendent of the Tributary Mahâls, entitled "A Notification to the Khond Sirdars, Mullicks and Kooers, and people of the Khond Mehals."

"Whereas you have agreed to subscribe at the rate of three annas per *hal* for the good purpose of making roads and establishing markets and communications in your Mâls, and your wish has been reported to the Government of Bengal, and your proposals have received the sanction of the Government of Bengal and of the Government of India:—This is to inform you that Government has authorized me to assure you that this action of yours is appreciated and approved, and that in future Government will give annually a sum equivalent to the total amount of your subscriptions and collections, and that the whole amount of your subscriptions, together with the equivalent grant given by Government, shall be expended in your Mâls for the purposes of improvement above indicated. The fund made up of your subscriptions and of the Government equivalent grant is to be administered under my supervision by a *panchâyat* to be selected by yourselves, of which *panchâyat* or committee, the local Tahsîldâr shall be the Secretary and Treasurer. The *panchâyat* shall be elected by yourselves at a general meeting to be held annually, and your *panchâyat* shall, under my supervision, decide on what roads shall be made; and the work on the roads you wish to make shall be done by yourselves with the aid of the people of your villages, and all who work shall receive such proportion of the funds available as may from time to time be based, and may be just and equitable in proportion to the work done.

"I also assure you that the plough-rate you have agreed to pay is not to be considered as either a land revenue assessment or as a compulsory tax, but the amount you may contribute will be considered and treated as a subscription voluntarily paid by you all for the good of your country and for its general improvement. I look to you to see that no departure is made from your agreement to collect the three annas rate on each plough and not to depart from the assurance you have given me, and I depend on your honesty and truthfulness. The word of a Khond is his oath and not to be departed from."

No settlement has ever been carried out, but alienations of land by the Khonds to non-Khonds are duly enquired into and

registered. The tendency is for the Khonds, who are aboriginals, to be ousted from their best lands by Oriyās and other interlopers from the adjacent districts and States, but, as stated above, legislative action has now been taken to prevent such alienations.

CHAPTER XIII.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENTS.

THE district of Angul is divided into two subdivisions, viz., the headquarters or Angul subdivision, which was formerly one of the Tributary States and was confiscated by Government in 1847 on account of the misconduct of its chief, and the Khondmāls, a tract formerly included in the Tributary State of Baud, which was occupied by British troops in 1855 on account of the anarchy prevailing, and has ever since been under British administration. Angul proper was declared a scheduled district under the Scheduled Districts Act (XIV of 1874), and in 1891 the Khondmāls were combined with it and brought under the provisions of the same Act. The district having been thus constituted, it was decided to provide a complete but simple code of substantive law and procedure suitable to the primitive character of its inhabitants; and this was effected by enacting a Regulation called the Angul District Regulation (I of 1894). The administration of the district is conducted under that Regulation, as amended by the Angul District Amendment Regulation (IV of 1904).

The Khondmāls.

The system of administration in the Khondmāls is unusually simple and patriarchal. The Khonds are called together and consulted whenever any matter affecting their interests is under consideration; while the administration of justice is guided by Khond customs under the Angul District Regulation. The Khonds themselves neither understand nor care for the subtleties of law, or even for precise adjudication of their disputes. What they prefer is that a dispute should be settled so as to satisfy both sides:—that a happy mean should be found which will be acceptable to the disputants. The efforts both of the law courts and of the village *panchāyats* are accordingly directed to effecting an amicable settlement. False and frivolous claims are not set up. Each side comes forward with a genuine grievance, and needs to be convinced of the rights of the opposite party. In the absence of direct evidence, recourse is always had to oaths; and settlements made in accordance with them are never repudiated. The people are always eager to have their disputes settled by arbitration. Such cases being disposed of in the presence of

the village council of elders, who know a good deal about the facts, prevarication and exaggeration are avoided, and the parties themselves are saved the time, trouble, and expense involved in regular law suits.

ADMINISTRATIVE CHARGES AND STAFF. Questions relating to the administration of the district are dealt with in the Political Department of Government. The direct control of the district is vested in the Deputy Commissioner, who exercises powers corresponding to those of a Collector and District Magistrate in a Regulation district. This officer is immediately subordinate to the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahāls, who exercises powers corresponding to those of a Commissioner and of the Board of Revenue, except in matters relating to excise, which are under the Commissioner of Excise. In the administration of the Angul subdivision, the headquarters of which are at Angul, the Deputy Commissioner is assisted by a Subdivisional Officer and by a Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate, and in the administration of the Khondmāls by a Subdivisional Officer; the headquarters of the latter subdivision were at Bisiparā until 1904, when they were transferred to Phulbāni.

Political. In addition to his administrative duties in Angul, the Deputy Commissioner is Assistant Political Agent for the Orissa Feudatory States, in subordination to the Political Agent. He tries sessions cases from Athgarh, Athmallik, Baud, Barāmbā, Daspallā, Dhenkānāl, Hindol, Narsinghpur, Pāl Laharā, Tālcher and Tigiriā, and also does all political work in connection with four States now under the direct management of Government, viz., Barāmbā, Hindol, Narsinghpur and Pāl Laharā, subject to the supervision of the Political Agent. The latter may depute him to do all the work in connection with the States of Baud, Daspallā and Khandparā, and may also direct him to do any particular work or delegate to him any of his own functions in any other of the 19 Feudatory States.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE. There are five courts for the administration of civil and criminal justice. The Superintendent of the Tributary Mahāls exercises the powers of a High Court as regards both civil and criminal justice, except in regard to criminal proceedings against European British subjects or persons charged jointly with European British subjects. The Deputy Commissioner is vested with the ordinary powers of a District Magistrate and of a Sessions Judge, and in civil cases has powers, corresponding to those of a District Judge, to try original civil suits and appeals without limit as regards value. The Subdivisional Officers of Angul and of the Khondmāls have the ordinary powers of a Subdivisional Magistrate of the first class, as defined in the Code of Criminal Procedure, the

powers of a Civil Court to try original civil suits of which the value does not exceed Rs. 500, and also the powers of a Court of Small Causes. The Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate at Angul has the ordinary powers of a Magistrate of the second class and power to try original civil suits of which the value does not exceed Rs. 100. There is also an Honorary Magistrate at Phulbāni exercising the powers of a Magistrate of the third class.

In criminal cases appeals from the Deputy Magistrate and Subdivisional Officers lie to the Deputy Commissioner, who is also Sessions Judge; and the ultimate appellate court is the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahāls. In civil suits the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahāls or the Deputy Commissioner may revise the proceedings of any subordinate court. Subject to these provisions, an appeal from an order or decree of the Subdivisional Officers lies to the Deputy Commissioner, except in the case of an original decree or order in any civil or revenue suit of which the value does not exceed Rs. 50. Appeals from original decrees or orders of the Deputy Commissioner lie to the Superintendent, Tributary Mahāls, except in suits of which the value does not exceed Rs. 500. Every appellate decree or order of the Deputy Commissioner in a civil or revenue suit is final, subject to the provisions regarding revision; but an appeal from an appellate decree or order in a suit of which the value exceeds Rs. 1,000, and in which he has revised or modified the orders of the lower court, lies to the Superintendent.

In the administration of civil justice the Hindu law in the case of Hindus, and the Muhammadan and Buddhist law in the case of Musalmāns and Buddhists, forms the rule of decision in questions relating to succession, inheritance, pre-emption, caste, special property of females, betrothals, marriage, adoption, guardianship, minority, bastardy, family relationship, wills, legacies, gifts, partitions, or any other religious or social usage or institution, except in so far as such law has by enactment been altered or abolished, or is opposed to any custom having the force of law in the district. In any cases not provided for by this rule or by any other law in force, the Court acts according to justice, equity and good sense. Another important provision of law is that relating to recovery of debts, which minimizes the possibility of unscrupulous adventurers taking advantage of the simplicity of the people. The amount of interest which may be decreed on any loan or debt cannot exceed the original amount of the latter; no interest on any debt or liability for a period exceeding one year can be decreed at a higher rate than 2 per cent. per mensem,

Civil justice.

notwithstanding any agreement to the contrary; and no compound interest arising from any intermediate adjustment or account can be decreed.

The majority of the cases disposed of by the Civil Courts relate to money suits. Title suits are not numerous, and generally refer to disputes regarding occupancy rights.

Crime. The crimes most characteristic of Angul are dacoities and highway robberies. These are mainly the work of Pāns, a semi-aboriginal caste with predatory instincts, whom it is difficult to attach to the land. They are, in fact, the criminal caste of Angul and furnish almost all the crime. Not only do they commit crime within the district, but raids are made by Pāns from neighbouring States with their assistance. In order to prevent such offences, what is known as the *kothghar* system is enforced, *i.e.*, the village headman keeps watch over the Pāns of his village at night and makes them sleep in one place.

Police. The administration of the police in Angul was formerly under the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahāls, but was transferred in 1904 to the Inspector-General of Police. The latter deals with all matters affecting the internal discipline of the force and is its executive head; but the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahāls retains full powers to order the whole or any part of the police to proceed to any place where they may be required, and is responsible to Government alone for any orders of this nature which he may issue. For administrative purposes each subdivision is constituted a thāna, and there are outposts at Chhindipadā, Bantlā, Jarparā and Purunākot in the Angul subdivision, and at Khojuriparā, Kumārkhol and Sāringia in the Khondmāls. The regular police force, which is under a Superintendent of Police, consisted in 1906 of 3 Inspectors, 8 Sub-Inspectors, 26 head-constables and 199 constables, *i.e.*, a total strength of 237 men, representing one policeman to every 7 square miles, and to every 809 persons.

The village police force appointed for watch and ward duties in the villages consists of 464 *chaukīdārs* under Regulation I of 1894. They are remunerated both in land, cash and kind. In the Angul subdivision 1,114 acres were allowed rent-free to the *chaukīdārs* at the last settlement; and the area has been increased during the settlement now in progress so as to allow each man a holding of not less than 5 acres, the rent of which is paid by the villagers. In the Khondmāls they have no such lands, and the custom is for the villagers to pay contributions in cash or grain, the usual rate being 10 *tāmbis* (1 *tāmbi*=1½ seers) for each house, which is equivalent to a salary of Rs. 18 a year.

They are appointed by the Deputy Commissioner, after consulting the residents of the village; and the Deputy Commissioner is vested with power to direct each householder to make payments towards their salary. The great majority of the *chaukīdārs* are Pāns, and practically all the remainder are Hāris.

JAILS. There are a district jail at Angul and a subsidiary jail at Phulbāni. The latter has accommodation for 20 (18 male and 2 female) prisoners, and the district jail has accommodation for 101 (91 male and 10 female) prisoners distributed as follows:—there are barracks without sleeping accommodation for 60 male convicts, 10 female convicts, 10 under-trial prisoners and 7 civil prisoners; there are 3 cells, and the hospital can hold 11 patients. It is proposed to increase the accommodation in the district jail so that Pān prisoners may be kept there instead of being transferred to other jails in Bengal where they become confirmed in criminal courses by contact with other hardened criminals.

FINANCE. The revenue of the district is very small and consists almost entirely of the amount obtained from land revenue and excise receipts.

Land revenue. The collections of land revenue rose from Rs. 60,000 in 1892-93 to Rs. 74,000 in 1901-02, and to Rs. 85,000 in 1906-07. The whole of this sum is collected from the Government estate in the Angul subdivision, and no land revenue is paid in the Khondmāls, where a voluntary contribution is paid at the rate of 3 annas per plough; the amount thus realized, with an equivalent grant from Government, is expended mainly in the improvement of communications.

Excise. The revenue from excise has steadily been increasing since the district was constituted. It was Rs. 9,050 in 1893-94 and rose to Rs. 33,000 in 1901-02 and to Rs. 54,000 in 1906-07. The greater part of this revenue is derived from the sale of opium, which realized Rs. 33,000 in 1906-07, and of country spirit, which brought in Rs. 18,000. The receipts from opium, however, include Rs. 20,000 obtained from the sale of the drug to seven native States. There are no distilleries in the district, the liquor being made in outstills by distillation from *mahua* and rice, and sold by the vendors in their shops. *Tāri* or fermented palm juice is extracted from date trees and sold in the Angul subdivision; the shopkeepers pay no tax for the trees, as they belong to Government, nor are the trees marked. *Gānja*, *i.e.*, the dried flowering tops of the cultivated female hemp plant (*Cannabis indica*) and the resinous exudation on them, is consumed to a limited extent. A *golā* has been established at the headquarters of the Angul subdivision, from which the drug is sold to

shop-keepers of the district and the neighbouring Tributary States. Formerly indigenous *gānja* was grown and consumed, but this practice has been put a stop to, and Rājshāhi *gānja* has taken its place for the last 11 years.

REGISTRATION. The registration of assurances is carried on by the Subdivisional Officers of Angul and the Khondmāls. Registration is not compulsory, and the transactions are few, both because the custom and right of transfer do not exist in Angul, and when a change takes place, mutation can be effected by an application to the revising officer; and also because the people seldom need to go to the expense of registering documents, as most of their disputes are settled by village *panchāyats*.

CHAPTER XIV.

EDUCATION.

EDUCATION is more backward than in any other district in Bengal, only 2 per cent. of the population (3·9 males and 0·1 females) being able to read and write in 1901. The reasons for this backwardness are not far to seek. The population is mainly composed of aboriginals or semi-aboriginals, occupying a low position in the scale of civilization; the villages, scattered over a broken plateau, are separated from each other by rugged peaks and dense forests; the climate is unhealthy, and effectually prevents any large influx of settlers from more civilized parts. Very fair progress has, however, been made since Angul was constituted a district. In 1892-93 there were 166 schools attended by 2,472 pupils; in 1901-02 the number of educational institutions had decreased to 146, mainly owing to a redistribution of schools, but the attendance had risen to 3,544; and in 1906-07 there were 172 schools, at which 7,114 children were under instruction. In other words, the number of scholars has increased nearly threefold since the district was created, and instruction is now given to 40 per cent. of the boys and 1 per cent. of the girls of school-going age, as compared with 18 and 0·8 per cent. respectively in 1892-93. This result is due almost entirely to the exertions of the district officials, and it is reported that the schools would soon disappear if they withdraw their attention and interest; for the people are not eager for education, prefer to make their children tend cattle or work in their fields, and are induced with great difficulty to send them to school. PROGRESS OF EDUCATION.

For the supervision of education there is a Sub-Inspector of Schools in each of the subdivisions of Angul and the Khondmāls. A Deputy Inspector has recently been appointed, who also supervises educational work in eight adjoining States.

Of the total number of schools, all but four with an attendance of 43 children are public institutions. There are two Middle Vernacular schools maintained by Government at Angul and Phulbāni, the headquarters of the two subdivisions, at which 107 boys are taught; and with the exception of the special schools mentioned below, all the other educational institutions are Primary SECONDARY AND PRIMARY EDUCATION.

schools. There is, in fact, practically no demand or need for higher education, the great majority of the people being small cultivators or aboriginals, to whom nothing but elementary instruction is suitable; there is also a great difficulty in getting them to pursue their studies beyond the primary stage, as the boys are generally withdrawn from school at an early age in order to tend cattle or help their parents in tilling the fields.

The total number of Primary schools is 146, and the number of pupils attending them is 6,248. Of these, 124 schools with an attendance of 4,873, are Lower Primary schools, and 22 with an attendance of 1,375 are Upper Primary schools, the average attendance at schools of both classes is 43. Of the Upper Primary schools, six are maintained by Government and 16 are aided, while of the Lower Primary schools 123 are aided and one is unaided. It is noticeable that only one school is unaided by Government, the reason being that education in this backward district cannot go on without being subsidized. There are 12 boarding houses with 91 boarders, two of which are attached to the Middle Vernacular schools, and the remainder to Upper Primary schools in the interior.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS. There are two subdivisional Guru Training schools for the training of Primary school teachers, situated at Angul and Phulbāni; and at the former place there is a Survey school established for the benefit of the local *Sarbarāhkārs*, whose sons and relations go through an elementary course of surveying, plotting and map drawing, to enable them to qualify themselves for the post of *Sarbarākhār*. There is also a small Sanskrit *Tol* at Angul attended mainly by Brāhman youths.

EDUCATION OF ABORIGINALS. Special measures are taken for the education of aboriginals and semi-aboriginals. In the Khondmāls there are 12 Primary schools, with Khond teachers, for the benefit exclusively of Khonds, but it is reported that progress is not very satisfactory, mainly owing to the fact that the children are taught by means of an Oriyā Primer, which they do not understand, as they speak their tribal dialect. It is hoped that this difficulty will disappear when primers in the Khond language have been prepared. In the Angul subdivision there are three schools specially established for Gonds; and in both subdivisions the total number of aboriginals under instruction is 728. Besides these institutions, there are 15 Lower Primary schools for the education of Pāns, a semi-aboriginal race, notorious for their criminal propensities; their touch defiles, and the Pān children are not allowed to sit with the children of higher castes. The teachers in these schools are also Pāns.

The progress which has been made in educating girls is very satisfactory. In 1896-97 and in 1901-02 there were only two Lower Primary girls' schools with an attendance of 28 and 50 pupils, respectively, and the number has now risen to 16 and the attendance to 669. The number of girls studying in boys' schools has also increased from 200 in 1896-97 to 727 in 1906-07. There are thus altogether 1,396 girls under instruction, of whom half attend boys' schools. The girls read freely with the boys and are taught by male teachers without any objections being raised by their parents. This increase has not been brought about without a great deal of trouble and persuasion on the part of the authorities, for the people are by no means anxious to have their girls taught. Two Model Primary girls' schools have also been opened at Angul and Phulbāni and have an attendance of 44 girls; both these schools are managed by female teachers. FEMALE EDUCATION.

There is only one literary society in the district, a Brāhman Samiti, started in Angul in 1905, the object of which is to promote education among the Brāhmans and to improve their social condition. LITERARY SOCIETIES.

CHAPTER XV.

GAZETTEER.

Angul.—Headquarters of the district, situated on the Nigrā river in 20° 48′ N. and 84° 59′ E. It contains a population, according to the census of 1901, of 693 persons. Angul is picturesquely situated in an open plain, with small wooded hills on two sides, the spurs of which jut out into the cultivated fields below; in the background are higher ranges 10 to 16 miles distant. A large bare rock stands in the middle of the station, on which an observatory has recently been erected; there are also a temple of Mahādeo and a *math* at its foot. A lake, 2,000 feet long by 700 feet broad, is being made by building embankments round the low land to the south, which is a marsh for several months in the year owing to rain water stagnating in it. A large permanent reservoir to supply drinking water has been a long-felt want, which will be removed by the construction of this lake. Most of the local tanks, wells and hill streams dry up in the hot weather, and the people of Angul and the neighbouring villages suffer greatly for want of good drinking water. It is hoped that the lake will not only remove this want, but also conduce to the health and beauty of the town. The town is surrounded by a metalled road called the Circular Road, and is intersected into a number of squares of various dimensions by roads crossing each other at right angles. It contains the usual public offices, which call for no special remark, the residences of the officials stationed here, the district jail, a dispensary and a small bazar. The place was formerly known as Hulurusinghā, and the name Angul was given to it in 1896, two years after the headquarters had been transferred here from Old Angul or Purunāgarh.

Balandāparā.—A village situated in the extreme north-west of the Khondmāls, 16 miles north-east of Sāringiā in 20° 30′ N. and 83° 53′ E. The village contains an inspection bungalow and a fully equipped out-door dispensary; a small weekly market is

This chapter has been compiled from notes kindly communicated by Mr. A. J. Ollenbach, Subdivisional Officer of the Khondmāls, and Bābu Baidya Nāth Misra, Subdivisional Officer, Angul Subdivision.

held here. It is largely inhabited by Saurās or Savars, an aboriginal caste, who now claim to be Hindus ; there are also a few villages peopled by this caste in the vicinity of Balandāparā. The Saurās say they are immigrants from the Patnā State, where there is a large settlement of their caste men, among whom they seek their brides. They are quite illiterate and almost as wild as the Khonds.

Balaskumpā.—A village in the south-east of the Khondmāls, situated in 20° 25′ N. and 84° 21′ E. at the confluence of two nameless hill streams which combine to form the Pilāsālkī river. The village contains a shrine of Bararāul (Bara Rāwāl), a goddess worshipped by the Oriyā residents of the Khondmāls, who has been identified with the Durgā of Orissa proper, though she is said to have a wider influence, her blessings being invoked at weddings and other ceremonial occasions, and her aid in times of sickness. The priest, or Dehuri as he is called, is a man of the Sudha caste. The goddess is specially worshipped every year in the bright fortnight of Aswin, when offerings of rice, milk, sweetmeats, goats and sheep, fowls and buffaloes are made by all classes. The first offering is made by the Khond headmen, who are looked upon as the owners of the shrine. The fair held at this time attracts 2,000 to 3,000 people from the surrounding country. The shrine is said to have been brought away from Mahāsingi in Kimedi, in the early part of the 19th century, by a chief, named Gandha Mārdan, with a following of Khonds from the Khondmāls, after a struggle lasting twelve years. Gandha Mārdan is said to have obtained a grant of the State of Baud from the Rājā of Purī as a reward for curing him of some disease; he drove out the marauding chiefs of the Mirga (spotted deer) and Kutra (ravine deer) families, and then gained over the Khonds.

The first officiating priests at the shrine were two Khonds, named Nila and Ratha, but after their death a man of the Māli caste was appointed, who subsequently carried off a sword from the shrine and established the State of Khandparā. At a later date a Sudha was elected, whose family settled in the village together with members of eleven other castes, viz., Kewat, Māli, Kumhār, Gaura, Saurā, Khond, Dhobā, Bhandāri, Sunri (known locally as Sundi), Pān and Hāri. Other Sudhas were also appointed, viz, Bisois to cook the offerings, Naiks to watch the shrine, and Dalbehārās to summon the tribesmen. The descendants of these people were afterwards made *sardārs* of the Bengrikiā, Chhotā Pāju, Sāngrimendi and Rāsimendi *muthās*. With the exception of the last two *muthās*, Khond *sardārs* have now been appointed in place of the Sudhas. They are the real

chiefs of the people, while the foreign *sardārs* have gained only a spurious position and influence by reason of their connection with Government as interpreters.

Balrāmprasād.—A village in the Angul subdivision, situated 7 miles east of Angul. It is included in a *pargana* called Pānchgarh, *i.e.*, the five forts, because it contained five forts (*garhs*), established in order to prevent invasions by the Chief of Dhenkānāl. Angul formerly extended as far as the river Nigrā near Motungā, about 5 miles beyond the present boundary, and as the chief of Dhenkānāl had overrun a large tract of country, these forts or outposts were established to prevent further inroads. Balrāmprasād was the biggest of the *garhs*, and some ruins of the fort are still extant.

Bandhagarh.—A village in the extreme south of the Khondmāls, situated in 20° 16′ N. and 84° 11′ E., close to the source of the Bāghnadī. It contains a shrine of the goddess Bararāul mentioned above in the article on Balaskumpā. At this shrine the annual worship of the goddess takes place in the month of Jaistha and is attended by a much larger gathering than at Balaskumpā. The shrine is a stone said to have been unearthed by a Khond while ploughing his field. The Hadgarh Khonds of the Ganjām district hearing of the discovery, demanded the stone by way of compensation for the shrine which was taken from Mahāsingi, but their efforts to remove it were unavailing, as the more they dug the ground round it, the deeper it sank. The local Khonds, regarding this as a sign that the stone was intended for themselves, took up arms against the Hadgarh people and drove them off. A large embankment, close to the site of the village, was fortified, and some of the Oriyā people from the adjoining village of Kāndāgarh took up their residence near it for the better protection of the shrine. The village has been named after this embankment, its name meaning the "embanked fort."

The Sudhas of the adjoining villages in Ganjām are allowed to take part in the worship of the goddess. The first offering is made by Dadrā Kahanra, the descendant of the Khond who discovered the stone, and the rest of the ceremony is the same as at the Balaskumpā shrine. The man who slays the victims offered to the goddess, who is called the Bāhāuk, is a Sudha. A Khond holds the buffalo's tail while it is being slaughtered, and is called the Jāni. An interesting feature of this *pūjā* is the large gathering of Khonds who attend the fair, and the singing and dancing which take place among groups of boys and girls. Match-making and the seizure and carrying off of brides elect are also common. Love matches are not infrequent; if a pair fall in love with one

another, they go away together, leaving the elders to settle the bride price and the attendant ceremonies.

Bisiparā.—A village in the Khondmāls, situated in 20° 25′ N. and 84° 15′ E., 6 miles south of Phulbāni. The village stands on the west bank of the Sālki river in Besringiā *muthā* almost in the centre of the subdivision, of which it was formerly the headquarters. It has now lost its importance, the headquarters having been removed to Phulbāni in 1904. The name is derived from Bisoi, the family title of one section of the Sudha caste, who were settled at the village as *paiks* or peons in earlier times, when the country was unsettled and the newly opened *tahsil* station needed protection. These people formed the ancient militia of the Rājās of the surrounding country, and were employed here in a similar capacity, when attempts were made by Government to put a stop to the depredations of turbulent chieftains, to suppress Meriāh or human sacrifices, to rescue intended victims from the Khonds, and generally to bring the country under a settled form of Government.

The land belongs to the Khonds of sixteen of the surrounding *muthās*, who were induced to give it to these foreigners as a maintenance grant in return for their services in performing petty police, guard and escort duties, going errands, carrying messages, etc. The ownership of the Khonds is still recognized by a small gift now and then, and by their headmen being given board and lodging free of cost whenever they visit the village. Several other families, chiefly potters, were settled in the same way to supply the needs of Government officers and to furnish them with domestic servants; these services are still rendered by the people of Bisiparā. In addition to grants made by individual familes or *muthās*, many other *paik* villages have been settled in a similar manner in other parts of the subdivision; of these the larger ones are Nuāparā, Bandhagarh, Ratang, Porāparā, Sakhiparā, Koilārigaon, Nuāpadar, Jājispāngā, Kelāparā, Gumāgarh, Keriri, Dangulu, Ganjgorā, Dubgarh, Phulbāni, Katrangiā, Gochhāparā, Balandāparā, Ghorāpathar, Mālrigaon, Nuāgaon, Khamāri, Phiringiā, Vādurgā, Nabagubā and Balaskumpā.

A portion of the land at Bisiparā was reserved for the Government buildings and residential quarters. These were built by the Khonds out of rough planks and posts loosely put together and secured by cross beams with wooden plugs. Great heavy blocks hewn from a single log of wood served the purpose of a door; the roof being thatched and the floor made of mud. The entire structure was devoid of nails and was erected with the help of only two instruments—an axe and a chisel. They were neither

rain, damp nor wind proof, and were infested with white ants. The headquarters were removed to Phulbāni in June 1904, the change being necessitated by the very unhealthy climate of Bisiparā. The staff was demoralized and rendered inefficient by incessant sickness, which was probably also due partly to the bad house accommodation. Apart from this, Bisiparā is situated in a hollow where the drainage is very defective, and the climate is damp and enervating.

Gāningiā and Rabingiā.—Gāningiā, situated in 20° 16′ N. and 84° 6′ E., and Rabingiā, situated in 20° 19′ N. and 84° 5′ E., are two villages in the Khondmāls, which are interesting specimens of old villages which still cling to their ancient customs. They are complete *muthās* in themselves, the residents being descended from single families, members of the same family naturally preferring to build close to the parental residence and thus ensure their safety at a time when the country was wild and unsettled. *Muthā*, it may be explained, is an Oriyā word which means literally a fistful, and is a term used to designate a small territorial division. Formerly, however, *muthās* were distinguished by the term tribe (Khond *klāmbu*), each family or tribe occupying a single *muthā*; and a man was never asked to what *muthā* he belonged, but to what tribe. The peculiarity of these *muthās* is that the hamlets are grouped together within a small area like the *mahalās* of a village in Bihār, and are distinguished from one another by the names of the original founders or by the names of the present headmen; sometimes also they have been named after a tree planted or found growing in them. Area for area, the population of these villages is much larger than in others where the people have followed the Oriyā custom of spreading over a large extent of country and forming distinct and isolated villages.

The two villages are called Gānigānda and Rābigānda by the Khonds, while the Oriyā name for Gāningiā is Sundigaon. Jārgiparā, one of the hamlets in Rabingiā, lies at a very high elevation, being perched on a small plateau by the side of the Piriāsaru hill, which is 3,083 feet high, and Gāningiā is also on a lofty plateau.

Jerang.—A hill in the Angul subdivision, 18 miles to the north-west of Angul, on the summit of which a *melā* or fair is held in the month of Chaitra in honour of a goddess called Burhī Thākurānī. Nearly 2,000 persons congregate at this *melā*.

Khejuriparā.—A village in the south-east of the Khondmāls, situated in 20° 26′ N. and 84° 27′ E., at an elevation of about 1,600 feet. It contains a police outpost and inspection bungalow,

and is one of the chief centres of trade in the subdivision. A large weekly market, attracting about 2,000 persons, is held on Sundays, at which almost every article of ordinary use can be obtained; cattle and hides are also sold to a fairly large extent. Formerly, the village was one of the chief visiting stations of the Meriāh Agents, as it lies on the direct route to Russellkonda, which used to be their headquarters. Another route runs through Bisiparā and Gumāgarh, but it is a difficult one on account of the Kurmigiā hill, which has to be crossed at Kālingā. Communication with the State of Daspallā on the east, and thence with Kantilo and Cuttack, used to be kept regularly, but traffic has fallen off since the subdivision was placed under Angul. It is intended to improve the road over the Metcalfe Ghāti or hill, by making it practicable for bullock carts, so as to attract traffic from the direction of Daspallā.

The village is situated in a beautiful open valley, which contains a number of prosperous villages It is named after the numerous date-palm trees found in and round it. Vegetables of all kinds and custard apple grow in great profusion, and the coconut palm, which it is generally difficult to rear at such an elevation, also thrives here.

Kosalā.—A village in the Angul subdivision, situated 17 miles to the north-east of Angul. A *melā* is held here on the full moon of Srāban every year at the shrine of a goddess named Ramchandī, which is attended by large numbers from Angul and the neighbouring States. It is believed that by worshipping Rāmchandī sterile women will obtain children, and it is a common sight to see women at this time crying and dancing in ecstacy, their ecstatic state is attributed to their being possessed by the goddess. Nearly 8,000 people assemble during the fair.

Krishnachakra.—A village in the Angul subdivision, situated nearly 18 miles to the east of Angul. It is situated in a narrow valley enclosed on all sides by wooded hills, and is difficult of access. For this reason, apparently, the last Rājā of Angul made his capital there, when he was preparing to resist the British Government. The place is now in ruins, and there are only a few hamlets inhabited by people of low castes.

Kulāngi.—A village in the Angul subdivision, situated nearly 20 miles to the south-west of Angul. It contains a shrine dedicated to a deity named Panchakhandā, *i.e.*, the goddess of the five swords. Oaths are commonly taken in the name of this goddess to settle disputes.

Kumārkhol.—A village in the Khondmāls, situated 17 miles north-west of Bisiparā in 20° 32′ N. and 84° 4′ E. It is on the

main road from Berhampur in Ganjām to Sonpur, and thence to Sambalpur. The road is an old military one, up which troops used to pass between the Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces. The portion in Baud and over the Penjei Ghāti has fallen into disrepair since the opening of the East Coast Railway, which attracts traffic southwards, while the Sambalpur extension of the Bengal-Nāgpur Railway takes the traffic from the country lying towards the north. It is, however, intended to open direct communication between Phulbāni and Sonpur shortly.

The village contains a police outpost and staging bungalow, and there is a shrine to the hill-god on the top of the Penjei Ghāti, consisting of numerous conical-shaped upright slabs of stone. The Khonds of the surrounding villages make annual offerings to this deity, and invoke his aid in saving them from attacks of malarial fever and from wild animals. He is particularly dreaded by foreigners, who never fail to propitiate his wrath by making an offering of a handful of whatever food they may be carrying when they pass this way.

Old Angul.—*See* Purunāgarh.

Phulbāni.—Headquarters of the Khondmāls subdivision, situated in 20° 29′ N. and 84° 16′ E., at an elevation of about 1,200 feet above sea-level, on the east bank of the Pilāsālki river, which winds round its western and northern sides. The village, which contains a population, according to the census of 1901, of only 475 persons, is about a mile in length and half a mile wide, and in shape resembles an oval. A road is being constructed round it; another road runs through its whole length, on either side of which the different buildings have been grouped; and cross roads divide the station into a number of small sections. It is situated in an undulating plain sloping away from a central ridge, along which the main road has been constructed. On two sides it is enclosed by hills, between which there are narrow outlets to the country beyond, but to the south-east and north-west the country is more open; and in the distance well-wooded hamlets are visible at the foot of the hills, in the midst of small clearings made in the forest.

The village from which Phulbāni derives its name lies at its northern corner and is inhabited largely by the writer-caste of Karans or Mahāntis, a fact which may account for this scholastic designation. The origin of the settlement is of interest. Pāndri, a Mahānti woman in the following of the Rājā of Baud, who remained at Balaskumpā when the Rājā left the Khondmāls, was brought by the Khonds of these *muthās* and settled here, in order that she might supply them with parched rice, salt and oil,

luxuries which had only recently been introduced by the Rājā. Pāndrī had three daughters, of whom the youngest, Gundrī, was carried off by a tiger as a punishment for stealing some cakes prepared for the harvest feast, which she intended eating in secret. Rubāng, the second daughter, married a fellow caste-man brought for her from Kālingā. Subāng, the eldest, had a liaison with Budha Naik, a Sudha of Rāmgarh, who used to visit the place for trade and put up at Pāndrī's house. The man was driven away by the Khonds, but was afterwards recalled and allowed to live with Subāng. Their son was admitted to the Sudha caste, and was made the priest of the goddess Bararāul. The Karans are the descendants of Rubāng, and the Sudhas of Subāng; the Sudhas, being descended from the elder daughter, are regarded as the senior and superior branch of the family.

The Khond name for Phulbāni is Damsingh, the name of an adjoining *muthā* in which it was formerly situated, this being a survival of an old custom, now rarely found in the Khondmāls, of grouping hamlets close together and calling them by a common name, each group forming a single *muthā.* Opposite to Phulbāni is an old Khond village, Dākpāl, where there used to be a visiting station before any permanent headquarters were established in the Khondmāls. The site of the old *kachahri* is pointed out in the midst of a mango and tamarind grove at the back of the Subdivisional Officer's Court.

The public buildings in Phulbāni are all of masonry; and most of them are thatched. These buildings are in charge of the Public Works Department, Phulbāni being the headquarters of a Public Works subdivision under the Executive Engineer of Sambalpur. A first class inspection bungalow is in course of construction, and a dispensary with accommodation for in-patients will shortly be erected; the present dispensary affords out-door relief only. There is a combined sub-post and telegraph office communicating with Angul, the district headquarters (87 miles north-east), and with Russellkonda (56 miles south) and Berhampur (103 miles south) on the Bengal-Nāgpur Railway. The route *viâ* Berhampur and Russellkonda is usually taken to the Khondmāls, as pony *jhatkās* (Madras tongas) and bullock carts are easily available and there are staging bungalows every 8 or 10 miles. The Sambalpur route is little used at present, and there is no direct road between Phulbāni and Sonpur. A plot of land has been set apart for quarters for the ministerial staff and another for the market, where a weekly bazar is held on Wednesdays. Another plot of land has been assigned to the London Baptist Missionary Society, which is about to establish

a station here with a dispensary or hospital under a medical missionary.

The climate at Phulbāni is dry, and is three or four degrees warmer than other places in the south, such as Bisiparā. The drainage is good, and malaria is not as rife here as in the rest of the subdivision. In the cold weather, an unpleasant mist, blown in by westerly breezes from the river, spreads over the town at night and hangs over it till a late hour in the morning.

Purunāgarh.—A village in the Angul subdivision, situated 8 miles west of Angul. Formerly it was the capital of the Rājā of Angul, but a few years before his deposition he moved his headquarters to Krishnachakra, nearly 10 miles distant from Purunāgarh, which was then given its present name, meaning the old fort. When the State came under the direct control of the British Government, Purunāgarh was again made its headquarters; but as the site was found to be very unhealthy, Angul was made the headquarters. The old headquarters is accordingly named Old Angul in maps. Purunāgarh contains a temple of Jagannāth, and there is another temple dedicated to Madan Mohan, a deity held in extreme awe by the people of the district.

Rabingiā.—*See* Gāningiā.

Santrī.—A village in the Angul subdivision, situated nearly 8 miles east of Angul. It contains the shrine of a goddess called Lobhī, where a large *melā* is held annually on the full moon of Kārtik, which is attended by 10,000 to 12,000 people. Local tradition says that this goddess was first worshipped by Rāmchandra.

Talmūl.—A village in the Angul subdivision, situated 9 miles south-east of Angul. The village, which is one of the oldest places in the district, is divided into three portions—Garh Talmūl, Sāsan Talmūl and Patnā Talmūl. Garh Talmūl is the site of an old fort in which the *paiks* or soldiers of the Rājā were garrisoned; remains of moats and of old ramparts are still traceable here and there. Sāsan Talmūl is the oldest Brāhman settlement in Angul, and a copper plate engraved in Devanāgari character has been found there. It is said that many of the Sāsani Brāhmans were formerly Chasās and were made Brāhmans by the Rājā. They still have Chasā names, observe some of their caste rules, and do not receive the same deference as other Brāhmans. It contains an image of Durgā Devī, in front of which there are ten pillars, called Daskhumba, which are held in great awe by the people. Patnā Talmūl is the commercial quarter containing the houses of artisans, oilmen, etc.

APPENDIX.

THE CONQUEST OF ANGUL.

In the Calcutta Review of 1848 a contemporaneous account of the conquest of Angul is given in an anonymous article *The Cuttack Tributary Mehals—Recent Operations against Ungool.* The following extracts from that account will be of some interest and are therefore published as an Appendix, the article having come to my notice too late to enable me to utilize it in the preparation of Chapter II.

The writer recapitulates the various acts of aggression committed by Somnāth Singh, the Rajā of Angul, and quotes a story current at the time which shews that he had misunderstood both the tolerance and the power of the British Government. A horse-dealer passing through Angul wished to sell the Rājā some of his horses, for which he asked Rs. 2,000 to be paid on the spot. The Rājā replied:—"No! I am going to fight the English, and then you shall have Rs. 5,000. The Firinghis are not soldiers—beating drums—blowing bugles—all parade—no fight in them." The canny horse-dealer, it is said, refused the offer and went his way, remarking, to the naive surprise of the Rājā, that it was possible that he might be beaten by the English. The story, at least, serves to shew the attitude of the Rāja, who continued in his aggressive courses, until at length he exhausted the patience of the British authorities.

In February 1847 he was "reported to be creating mischief in Duspulla, plundering villages, and aiding and abetting the Khonds to resist the measures adopted by Captain Macpherson, the well-known Khond Agent, to put down the barbarous practices of human sacrifice and infanticide. A wing of the distinguished Kelal-i-Ghilzie Regiment, then at Cuttack, was in consequence immediately deputed by the Commissioner to proceed to Bermul, to protect the Rajah of Duspulla, and, if necessary, to afford every aid in carrying out the Government measures. As the year advanced, and affairs began to assume a rebellious appearance, the Commissioner applied to Government for two regiments. Two regiments of Madras Native Infantry and the right wing of

a third, with the full complement of artillery, were consequently formed into the Ungool Field Force."

The force left Cuttack on the 15th January under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, C.B., and after marching through Athgarh, Dhenkānāl and Hindol, arrived on the 20th at Huttur, a village on the borders of Angul, only to find it deserted. "It was evident that the Ungool Field Force carried fear along with it. The people of Huttur had magnified it into a large army—one of some ten or twenty thousand men and at least twenty guns. And they were not the only people who thought so. It was perhaps the largest force that had entered the Tributary Mehals, since the conquest of Cuttack in 1803; and yet it was not composed of more than 2,000 fighting men and four guns, two of the latter 12-pounder howitzers, followed by a train of ammunition waggons, provided with shot and shell. The cause of fear in Huttur was said to be the enemy's having come down, to the number of 400, and persuaded the villagers, that, unless they immediately fled to the hills, the "Sahib-log" would fight them too. As it had been reported that about one mile and a half beyond Huttur a stockade had been built to prevent our further approach, two companies went out to reconnoitre. The much talked-of stockade "defended by 500 Paiks" was found to be almost deserted; a few horsemen were seen preparing their rice, who, on our approach, made off as fast as their chargers could carry them.

"On the 22nd of January the Field Force entered the Ungool country leaving behind the commissariat carts and taking 20 days' provisions, which were carried on elephants. Proceeding in a north-westerly direction for a distance of twelve miles, the village of Hummamera was reached. For want of water there, the troops encamped at Kinda, distant about two miles from Hummamera. And, strange to say, during this march, not a shot was heard in the jungles—not a glimpse of anything in the shape of an enemy was seen.

"We shall now give a description of the Rajah's residence and defences, that is, as they were credibly reported to be, on our entering the mehal. 'The Rajah deeming his former residence insufficiently protected, abandoned it soon after he was threatened with a visit by Mr. Commissioner Ricketts in 1837; and constructed his present abode in the most inaccessible part of his country. The residence itself is at the foot of a hill and is unfortified; but the main road leading to it, *viâ* Hindol, is defended by two stockades erected on two hills—one about four miles and the other about one mile from his dwelling. The

works are said to be of some strength, and that nothing effective could be accomplished against them without guns. In addition to these defences, there is also a stockade (or small fort) erected on an eminence at Tikripurra; and it has been ascertained that, at a hill called Kurrith-pettah, said to be 6 miles north-east from the Rajah's residence, a new fortification, consisting of a gate with strong stockades, has recently been built, and the jungle cleared for the space of about three miles in front of it. A new gate and stockade have also been constructed at Bowkheta, on the road leading from Tikripurra to the Rajah's residence.' After all this reported zeal on the part of the zemindar of Ungool, this sheltering himself in the most inaccessible part of his country—only to be reached by passing through what was called the "elephant jungle," where, most probably, the footsteps of British troops had never before been heard—there was every reason to believe that the force would yet meet with the most determined opposition.

"On the morning of the 23rd, the force marched to Pokutungia, about ten miles distant from Kinda. The march was through thick jungle, from which it emerged into a picturesque and verdant country. The fort of Kurrith-pettah (or Kurrith-puttergarh) was believed by Colonel Campbell to be somewhere near Pokutungia; so leaving one regiment, the 29th, at the encamping ground half an hour after the halt was sounded, the remaining portion of the force marched on, under the Brigadier, in search of it. Proceeding along, partly through jungle, and near the base of several hills, after having gone about two or three miles, the hill fort was discovered on the top of a long narrow hill, with a commanding range on the small maidan below, over which the force was sure to march on its progress. A gun and howitzer were immediately called to the front, and the Infantry (the 22nd Regiment) formed a line to the left. The guns were immediately loaded and in position; when after a few minutes' suspense a portion of the detachment of the 41st, which had proceeded in advance with the Brigadier and the Brigadier Major came in sight, making way up the face of the hill to the centre or strongest portion of the fort. The enemy were taken unawares; and on a few of the troops entering their stronghold, one of the rebels was caught in the act of sponging out a gun. Several others were near him; but all immediately fled, by a recess for retreat, which they had taken good care to establish,—a prominent figure on a white horse, supposed to have been Sindu-Ghur-Naik, the Commander-in-Chief, flying with all speed. Had there only been a few cavalry with the

force, these fugitives might have been caught, and probably much trouble would have been saved.

"During this brief business, some few shots had been exchanged between the rebels in their flight and our troops in the stockade. But not a man was killed or wounded on either side. The fortification itself, consisting chiefly of a strong timber wall, was found to be admirably constructed: the snugness of the place inside, the various repositories for the rough implements of war—all betokened that Sindu-Ghur-Naik had not been working on a system of his own. Two guns of the smallest calibre, mounted on carriages, were found, one of which was well loaded to the muzzle, and admirably pointed and elevated for a range of some 450 yards on the maidan below. Quantities of powder, iron shot, and an ingenious contrivance for grape, viz., a small bag filled with pieces of iron and rolled round with a sort of tow, so as to fit the bore of the piece, with various other articles, were found in the fort. A party remained there during the day, blasting and demolishing the works, during which operations the Rajah's powder was discovered to be considerably below the usual strength. By 3 o'clock next morning (the 24th) the hill fort was only distinguishable by various fires, which marked out the boundaries of Kurrith-pettah.

"The force was now making fast progress towards Crutesnachuker-Ghur, the stronghold of the Rajah (the "new residence" mentioned above), also called Gundaru. Two stockades, it was well known, defended the grand approach; and information had since been received that a gun was placed at the first defence, by name the Chundernah Durwazeh. After marching some eight or nine miles through a dense forest—the guns assisted along by the Infantry—the Chundernah Durwazeh came in view. It was a strongly fortified position, with gates supported by masonry, and on each side an extension of stockade of a similar kind to that of Kurrith-pettah. Had this position been even tolerably well manned, with the assistance of two guns it might have made a desperate resistance. It was found to be entirely deserted. This fortress was situated on a rocky hill about 150 feet high; on each side of the face of it was dense jungle; so that it could only be speedily approached by the road direct to the gates. As the force advanced a little, the second stockade appeared. At this position it was reported that the Rajah of Ungool had left his residence, in plain words, that he had fled on our approach. Proceeding on about two miles, over stones and through thick jungle, the force arrived at Crutesnachuker-Ghur, beautifully situated in a valley.

"This village, in addition to that of the Rajah, was found to be the retreat of the head sirdar (Sindu-Ghur-Naik): the villagers had entirely deserted their homes—all bore signs of the fruits of oppression and rebellion. Many of the houses were filled with different kinds of grain, and various articles of some value, over which sentries were immediately placed. In the house of the head sirdar himself a strange medley was to be seen: here an English gun-case, a tent, etc., there a variety of fireworks and Indian gods heaped up together. In a small yard adjoining, stood several horses, anxious for straw and water; and in various recesses might be seen rice prepared for the morning meal evidently hid in the hurry and confusion of escape. Nearly at the base of a hill stood a small house, which was dignified by the title of "the Zenana," from which, it was said, the Rajah had proceeded in a palankeen with a few attendants. Near this spot was the magazine or arsenal, in which were found two gun carriages finished, and two in the progress of making, the pattern similar to that of the English light 3-pounder carriages. Vast quantities of gunpowder, saltpetre, sulphur, lead, etc., were likewise found. In the course of the day (the 25th) seven guns of various sizes were dragged from a deep mud pool, where they had evidently only recently been hid.

"The capture of the Rajah and his sirdars, and the conciliation of the natives and inducement for them to return to their villages, now occupied the attention of Colonel Campbell. In order to effect these objects, he sent out various detachments (some of considerable strength) to the most important positions in the surrounding country. The officers commanding posts and detachments had orders to preserve the villages, and the property and persons of the inhabitants, from the slightest injuries. They were also "to use every means of conciliating the people and of inducing them to return to their villages;" and, should the villagers be threatened with violence by any adherents to the deposed Rajah, or attacked, the assailants were to be "vigorously repelled." More judicious steps than these could have been adopted. And before the force marched north for the former residence of the Rajah, Crutesnachuker-Ghur and the surrounding villages were fast filling with inhabitants. The Paiks had evidently deserted their chief. They might have aided the Rajah had his country been invaded by a neighbouring zemindar. But the "Feringhis" were quite another thing. The people looked on the English as a merry, harmless, though powerful, race—wishing rather to reconcile and preserve than to make war and plunder.

"On the morning of the 26th, one half of the artillery and two Companies of Infantry marched to Puranaghur, formerly the residence of the Rajah of Ungool. The headquarters of the 22nd Regiment had proceeded thither the day before. Puranaghur is styled Ungool in the various maps, and is situated about nine miles nearly direct north of Gundaru. A worse road for guns and waggons could not well be conceived. It seemed as if the rocks and giant trees of the forest, astonished at our audacity, were determined to resist their progress. On the 27th instant the headquarters of the force, with the remainder of the artillery, arrived. From the absence of so many detachments, the encampment was reduced to about one-sixth of its original size. Some of these had been distributed as follows:—one at Tikripurrah, one at Kunjrah, one at Crutesnachuker-Ghur, and one at Pokutungia. All stockades and defences of importance had now been destroyed. At Tikripurrah, materials for another stockade were found; also a deep trench--evidently the commencement of an attempt on the part of the rebels to fortify themselves on the banks of the river. The track of a gun towards this position was likewise discovered.

"The brief campaign was now drawing fast to a close. Towards the end of the mouth, Colonel Campbell had visited Colonel Ouseley of the South-West Frontier, who was busily employing all the means in his power, and they were not few, for the capture of the Rajah and his sirdars. The meeting took place at Durgapur, about 25 miles north-west of Puranaghur, where a portion of the Ramghur force and detachments of Madras Infantry were for a short time assembled. On the 1st of February the capture of the Ungool chieftain was announced in camp. The Banurah Rajah and Dewan of the Rajah of Sumbulpore, under Colonel Ouseley, appear to have been of great service on this occasion. He was hunted out by the paiks of these chiefs, and was taken not very far distant from Crutesnachuker-Ghur. From this post, held by a detachment of the 29th M. N. I., the commanding officer immediately sent a palankeen, to convey the helpless Rajah into his presence. The hill zemindar came trembling and humiliated. He had ruled a considerable tract of country with, there is every reason to believe, the rod of injustice and oppression. He had attempted to stir up his people against a humane and just Government. He was now about to be led as a prisoner to Cuttack.

"By the morning of the 9th of February the force had assumed the appearance of a general "breaking up"; and the capture of Sindu-Ghur-Naik was not the least pleasant intelligence

on that day:—he, too, had been hunted down and was being led as a prisoner into Puranaghur. Out of sixteen or seventeen sirdars, not one escaped; but the only one of importance was the ex-Commander-in-Chief, whose capture gave a brilliant termination to the whole business. Thus, in less than twenty-four days from the departure of the force from Cuttack, every object had been effected:—the rebels had been captured, the inhabitants of Ungool had gained confidence in our protection, and the seeds of future improvement had been sown in the country."

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